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Boston University

School of Religious and Social Work

THE FUNCTIONING OF PROPAGANDA IN PRESENT-DAY AMERICAN LIFE

A Thesis

Submitted by

Esther Coleman

(A.B., Boston University, 1933)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1935

Western University
School of Public Health and Social Work

The Department of Public Health and Social Work

is pleased to

announce the

appointment of

Dr. [Name] as

Associate Professor of Public Health and Social Work

and as Director of the Department of Public Health and Social Work

1931-1932

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. Historical Introduction	1
A. Introduction	2
B. Propaganda in Pre-Modern Times	2
C. Propaganda During Historical Times	3
D. Propaganda in the Middle Ages	3
E. Propaganda From 1600-1914	4
1. In Europe	4
2. In America	5
F. Propaganda During the World War	5
PART II. Definitions of Propaganda	10
A. Funk and Wagnall's Definitions	11
B. Bernays' Definition	12
C. Definitions of Lumley and Others	12
D. Strong's Definition	13
E. Other Definitions	14
F. Definitions in Terms of Specific Techniques	15
G. Author's Definition, Distinctions, and Discussion	20
PART III. The Techniques of Propaganda	25
A. Publicity and the Organs of Propaganda	24
B. Repetition	26
C. Appeal to Authority	26
D. The Testimonial	30
E. Visual Stimuli	31
1. Moving Pictures, Pictures, Photographs	31
2. The Cartoon as a Picture	33
3. Signs, Charts, Statistics	35
4. The Symbol	36
5. Symbolic Words	36
F. Slogans and Emblems	42
G. Appeal to Reason	43
H. The Emotional Appeal	47
1. To Love and Affection	47
2. To Hatred and Aversion	48

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. Historical Introduction	1
A. Introduction	2
B. Propaganda During Primitive Times	2
C. Propaganda During Historical Times	3
D. Propaganda in the Middle Ages	3
E. Propaganda From 1600-1914	4
1. In Europe	4
2. In America	5
F. Propaganda During the World War	6
PART II. Definitions of Propaganda	10
A. Funk and Wagnall's Definitions	11
B. Bernays' Definition	11
C. Definitions of Lumley and Others	12
D. Strong's Definition and Other Logical	13
E. Other Definitions	14
F. Definitions in Terms of Specific Techniques	19
G. Author's Definition, Distinctions, and Discussion	20
PART III. The Techniques of Propaganda	23
A. Publicity and the Organs of Propaganda	24
B. Repetition	26
C. Appeal to Authority	28
D. The Testimonial	30
E. Visual Stimuli	31
1. Moving Pictures, Pictures, Photographs	31
2. The Cartoon as a Picture	33
3. Graphs, Charts, Statistics	35
4. The Symbol	36
5. Symbolic Words	38
F. Slogans and Labels	43
G. Appeal to Reason	45
H. The Emotional Appeal	47
1. To Love and Affection	47
2. To Religion and Ethics	48

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	PART I. Historical Introduction
2	A. Introduction
3	B. Propaganda During Primitive Times
3	C. Propaganda During Historical Times
5	D. Propaganda in the Middle Ages
4	E. Propaganda From 1600-1914
4	1. In Europe
5	2. In America
8	F. Propaganda During the World War
10	PART II. Definitions of Propaganda
11	A. Funk and Wernick's Definitions
11	B. Bernays' Definition
12	C. Definitions of Lumley and Others
13	D. Bernays' Definition
14	E. Other Definitions
15	F. Definitions in Terms of Specific Techniques
19	G. Author's Definition, Distinctions, and Discussion
20	PART III. The Techniques of Propaganda
24	A. Publicity and the Organs of Propaganda
26	B. Repetition
26	C. Appeal to Authority
30	D. The Testimonial
31	E. Visual Stimuli
31	1. Moving Pictures, Pictures, Photo-graphs
33	2. The Cartoon as a Picture
33	3. Graphs, Charts, Statistics
36	4. The Symbol
38	5. Symbolic Words
43	F. Slogans and Labels
45	G. Appeal to Reason
47	H. The Emotional Appeal
47	1. To Love and Affection
48	2. To Religion and Politics

CONTENTS

3. To Moral Ideas of Good and Bad	50
4. To Fear and Hate	51
5. To Religious and Racial Prejudice	52
6. To the Sex Instinct	55
7. To Other Emotions	56
I. The Cartoon	59
J. The Aesthetic Appeal	59
K. Stunts	60
L. Techniques of Organization	61
1. The Lobby	61
2. The Gill Campaign	63
M. Suggestion	67
N. Implication, Insinuation, and Innuendo	71
O. Abuses of the Laws of Reasoning	74
1. Fabrication	74
2. Veiling	75
3. Lumley's Four Categories	78
4. Question Begging and Other Logical Fallacies	80
P. Conclusion to Part III and Introduction to Part IV	80
 PART IV. The Effective Basis for Propaganda Techniques	 82
A. In the Character of Society	83
1. Its Complexity	83
2. Secondary Contacts	83
3. The Inaccessibility of Truth	84
4. The Speed-Up of Modern Life	85
5. Social Groupings	86
6. The Democratization of Society	87
B. In the Nature of Man	89
1. The Primacy of the Emotions	89
2. The Levels of Human Behavior	90
3. Man's Credulity	91
4. Man's Mental Limitations	92
5. The Laws of Learning and Logic	93
6. Mass Psychology	94
 PART V. Conclusion	 96
 SUMMARY	 98
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 105

CONTENTS

80	3. To Moral Ideas of Good and Bad
81	4. To Fear and Hate
82	5. To Religious and Racial Prejudice
83	6. To the Sex Instinct
84	7. To Other Emotions
85	1. The Carpool
86	2. The Aesthetic Appeal
87	K. Summary
88	1. Techniques of Organization
89	2. The Lobby
90	3. The Gift Campaign
91	M. Suggestion
92	N. Imagination, Imagination, and Imagination
93	O. Appeals of the Laws of Reasoning
94	1. Persuasion
95	2. Veiling
96	3. Ramsey's Four Categories
97	4. Question Asking and Other Logical Fallacies
98	P. Conclusion to Part III and Introduction to Part IV
99	PART IV. The Effective Basis for Propaganda Techniques
100	A. In the Character of Society
101	1. Its Complexity
102	2. Secondary Contacts
103	3. The Inescapability of Truth
104	4. The Spread of Modern Life
105	5. Social Groupings
106	6. The Demoralization of Society
107	B. In the Nature of Man
108	1. The Primacy of the Emotions
109	2. The Levels of Human Behavior
110	3. Man's Credibility
111	4. Man's Mental Limitations
112	5. The Laws of Learning and Logic
113	6. Mass Psychology
114	PART V. Conclusion
115	SUMMARY
116	BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

"Propaganda" in name and in fact is not the strange and unfamiliar thing today that it was a generation ago. In the past it was a term of reproach, but today it is a term of common parlance of the American people; in fact, almost a slang expression. Among certain classes of the population, to describe statements or information as "propaganda" denotes a certain sophism.

Part I. Historical Introduction

Propaganda itself is becoming such an important factor in the modern world that complete understanding of the contemporary scene requires some comprehension of what propaganda is and how it works.

Propaganda is getting public recognition today as never before. In the past, it was a secret thing, known only to those on the inside, its methods carefully guarded, and its presence hotly denied. In Hitler-Germany a full-fledged Ministry of Propaganda sits with the other cabinet members. Italy and the Soviet Union admittedly make extensive use of propaganda. In the United States recent disclosures of the Maritime Industry have disclosed very peculiar propaganda methods.

Propaganda During Primitive Times

Although propaganda may have been known and utilized by a small minority in the past, nevertheless it did exist.

The Functioning of Propaganda in Present-Day American Life

Part I. Historical Introduction

Introduction

"Propaganda" in name and in fact is not the strange and unfamiliar thing today that it was a generation ago. In the last two decades the word "propaganda" has become a term of common parlance of the American people; in fact, almost a slang expression. Among certain elements of the population, to describe statements or information as "propaganda" denotes smart sophistication or unusual insight. And propaganda itself is becoming such an important factor in the modern world that complete understanding of the contemporary scene requires some comprehension of what propaganda is and how it works.

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In all probability, indeed, it has existed in some form or other since the beginning of man's life on earth. Study of contemporary primitive tribes has led some anthropologists to believe that much of primitive religion and ritual was "propagandistic", with the dance, the folk-lore, and magic rites being used by the priests as a method of keeping the common people subject to priestly power. Many scientists think that the priests did not always believe all they taught and often used their mystic powers to further their own ends.

Propaganda During Historical Times

So also the Greeks and the Romans of early historical times used a kind of propaganda not only to further their own ends but also for the public good. Plato would probably be considered today one of Greece's greatest propagandists. In Rome, Cicero and the Caesars made use of the methods of propaganda to keep political balance and power. Many political pamphlets issued from Roman pens in the heyday of Roman power and during its declining years.

Propaganda in the Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages the Holy Church was the chief propagandist. Two notorious pieces of propaganda perpetrated by the Church were the "False Decretals and the "Donation of Constantine". These false documents and dogmas were accepted by the people and by the priests as genuine. The

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key-note address for the first crusade, of Pope Urban II at Clermont just prior to the end of the Eleventh century was a masterpiece of propaganda that might well be studied by some of the political propagandists that declaim today over the radio or in the public press. Some of the atrocity stories of the treatment of the crusaders by the Saracens undoubtedly did serve as models for later stories concerning Turkish treatment of the Armenians; and in turn during the World War by a simple change of scene were applied to German treatment of the Belgians. Indeed the first use of the term "propaganda" seems to have been made by the Church, for a College of Propaganda was instituted by Urban VIII to educate priests for missions. So the first definition of propaganda in Funk and Wagnalls' Dictionary reads, "Propaganda: 1. A society of cardinals, the overseers of foreign missions; also the College of the Propaganda at Rome founded by Pope Urban VIII in 1627 for the education of missionary priests; Sacred College de Propaganda Fide".

Propaganda from 1600-1914

In Europe

During the post-medieval - pre-war period propaganda was used to some extent, especially as an accompaniment of the many struggles and wars of the period. During the Puritan Revolution in England many thousands of pamphlets were issued, and in the Great Rebellion in the middle of the

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Seventeenth century ballads served as a medium of propaganda. France during the Revolution was, of course, over-run with all sorts of propaganda. It was undertaken on a large scale. Voltaire and Diderot were the great propagandists of the period, but there were also many minor pamphleteers and writers and speakers arising from the ranks of the people, whose use of catch-words, epithets, and slogans would compare favorable with the use made of these techniques during the World War. That mighty Man of Blood and Iron, Bismarck, in his control of the press and in the vast amounts of money spent on "educating" the people, served as a good example for later German efforts along the same line of endeavor.

In America

Here in America our "Founding Fathers" were not unversed in the gentle art of propaganda. The "Boston Tea Party" was a clever ruse to turn the hearts of the colonists against the British. Likewise the term "Boston Massacre" was coined by one who had the emotions of the people in mind. During the period of the Civil War, with its violent anti-slavery agitation in the North, and with its carpet-baggers in the South, the United States was over-run with propaganda. Prior to the World War probably the masterpiece of propaganda was the work of the Anti-Saloon League and its predecessors and affiliated organizations during the latter part of the Nineteenth and the beginning of the Twentieth

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centuries. The gospel of the prohibition organizations spread its web through all the channels of American life using all available means.

Propaganda During the World War

Now, leaving unmentioned all the other many examples of propaganda in the past, we come to the propaganda that issued from the World War -- that awful maelstrom in which so many modern ideas were born, where so many old ideas were transformed or given new force or direction, from which grew so many of the phenomena of modern existence that we accept unthinkingly as having been present forever. In the administration of the War, as worked out by all the combatant countries in a similar manner, propaganda came to be such a major element of the modern scene that it ceased to be a hit-or-miss sort of a method employed on a rather small scale and became instead a specialized scientific technique applicable, according to tested rules, to world-wide enterprises as well as to small schemes. According to Mr. George Creel, arch-propagandist for the War in the United States, paper bullets won the War. Everyone will agree, I believe, that the propaganda spread at home especially, and also at the front, on the part of all nations, was certainly a major factor in waging the war; and it may very well be that among the primary reasons for the Allied victory should be listed their superior propaganda methods and materials.

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I do not intend here, however, to go into any discussion of the propaganda of the World War. It has been treated at great length from many angles by competent authorities.¹ I wish merely to point out that a complete understanding of present-day propaganda can not be grasped without some insight into the methods used during the War, and without a comprehension of their importance for today. Later, when I analyse specifically the various techniques of propaganda and the basis of their effectiveness, it will be necessary to refer to the War, for it is in these war-tested techniques that almost all recent propaganda is rooted.

Even before the War was over, some of the more forward-looking and analytically-minded people saw the infinite possibilities of applying techniques perfected and developed during war-time to all sorts of peace-time activities. The various exposés of War propaganda, mentioned above, that have recently become so popular, have tremendously increased the number of people who have been enabled to see its peace-time possibilities. The tremendous forces of propaganda, proved to be so completely effective during the War are fast becoming common property, available for use by anyone upon any occasion. The propaganda-habit of mind of the people has become firmly entrenched. We might say, in the psychological parlance of the day, that the people generally have become "propaganda-conscious".

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Up to this point we have been discussing propaganda as an accepted phenomenon of historical interest and of present day significance, but we have made no attempt to define what we mean by the term we have used so freely. Thus, many people use this term without making any effort to explain its meaning; often, indeed, they use it without having any clear idea as to what its meaning really is. So we turn now to definition.

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What is propaganda? How may it be defined? What are the distinctive qualities that set it apart from advertising, from education, from publicity. Many authorities on the subject, many educators, and publicity men, and propagandists themselves have defined this term. Let us look, then, at what they say.

Part II. Definitions of Propaganda

Funk and Wagnall's Definitions

We have already seen (p. 10) the historical definition as given in Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary, (with which the Merriam Webster's New International agrees). The dictionary continues as follows: "3. Hence, any incitation or scheme for propagating a doctrine or system. 3. Effort directed systematically toward the gaining of public support for an opinion or a course of action. 4. The principles and methods of such activity. 5. A combination of the ideas incorporated in definitions two and three given a fairly adequate idea of what constitutes propaganda as it is usually considered."

Bernays' Definition

Bernays, having this same idea of propaganda in mind, says, "The mechanism by which ideas are spread is called propaganda. In a large sense it is propaganda, in the broad sense of an organized effort to spread a particular belief or doctrine." Later he says, "Modern propaganda is a consistent, enduring effort

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Funk and Wagnall's Definitions

We have already seen (p.4) the historical definition as given in Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary, (with which the Merriam "Webster's New International" agrees). The dictionary continues as follows: "2. Hence, any institution or scheme for propagating a doctrine or system. 3. Effort directed systematically toward the gaining of public support for an opinion or a course of action. 4. The principles advanced by a propagandist". A combination of the ideas incorporated in definitions two and three gives a fairly adequate idea of what constitutes propaganda as it is usually considered.

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1. Bernays: Propaganda, p. 20

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to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea, or group".¹ In speaking of the part played by minorities in the creation of propaganda, he says, "Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government".² To Bernays, ^{then} ~~them~~, propaganda is a social technique of spreading particular ideas among a large group. He does not consider that it has any moral coloring as such, but that whether it is good or bad in any particular instance depends upon the merits of the particular cause in question and upon the correctness of the information disseminated.

Definitions of Lumley and Others

Some authorities feel that propaganda is definitely sinister. Propaganda to them is a term of opprobrium. Frederick E. Lumley, who has recently made a rather extensive study of propaganda, indicates his alignment with this school of thought even in the title of his book, "The Propaganda Menace". He says that propaganda is one phase of culture promotion, the advancing or pushing of culture upon and into what he calls the uncultured and the miscultured. But he separates propaganda from "better education", which he describes as the liberation of the intelligence. He says, "To the present writer education and propaganda are contradictions in terms and mutually exclusive".³ Propaganda, then, seeks to conceal the truth, to regiment and hem in the

1. Bernays: Propaganda, p. 25.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

3. Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 21.

to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea, or group".¹ In speaking of the part played by minorities in the creation of propaganda, he says, "Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government".² To Bernays, ~~then~~, propaganda is a social technique of spreading particular ideas among a large group. He does not consider that it has any moral coloring as such, but that whether it is good or bad in any particular instance depends upon the merits of the particular cause in question and upon the correctness of the information disseminated.

Definitions of Lumsley and Others

Some authorities feel that propaganda is definitely sinister. Propaganda to them is a term of opprobrium. Frederick H. Lumsley, who has recently made a rather extensive study of propaganda, indicates his alignment with this school of thought even in the title of his book, "The Propaganda Menace". He says that propaganda is one phase of culture promotion, the advancing or pushing of culture upon and into what he calls the uneducated and the misinformed. But he separates propaganda from "better education", which he describes as the liberation of the intelligence. He says, "To the present writer education and propaganda are contradictory in terms and mutually exclusive".³ Propaganda, then, seeks to conceal the truth, to pervert and bend in the

1. Bernays: Propaganda, p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. Lumsley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 21.

intelligence, he believes. He describes propagandists not as truth seekers, but as social fixers, dealers in re-conditioned truth, arranged to serve as a means to a desired end.

Strong's Definition

In one chapter of his book, Lumley brings together all the definitions of propaganda that he has been able to discover in the vast amount of literature on the subject, criticises them in the light of his own ideas of what propaganda is, and then draws up his own definition. He casts out all definitions that do not present propaganda as bad. He first takes issue with Strong on this very basis, that Strong does not make out propaganda as bad. Mr. Strong's definition is one of the best, and his distinction between propaganda and education a correct one. To quote him, "The word 'propaganda' means essentially the spread of a particular doctrine or a system of principles, especially when there is an organization or general plan back of the movement. Propaganda differs from 'education' with which it is purposely confused, in that in the case of the former the aim is to spread one doctrine, whereas in the case of the latter the aim is to extend a knowledge of the facts as far as known".¹ Mr. Lumley falls into that confusion between education and propaganda. He considers propaganda bad and one-sided, biased education. He believes that all

1. Strong, Edward K.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Readings in Sociology, p. 597.

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sides of a question should be presented at all times, and because propaganda does not do this it is bad, and he wishes it did not exist. Lumley's book is really a propaganda against propaganda, although he would undoubtedly call it "education". Any body who attempts to discuss propaganda in a scientific manner, as an existent factor of modern life to be understood and dealt with as such, without passing judgment on it at the same time, does not understand what propaganda is, according to Lumley. To present only part of the facts, though they be true, is to equivocate, and should not be allowed. Of course, in justice to Mr. Lumley, we should say that much propaganda is bad and untruthful as everyone would admit.

Other Definitions

So when Wreford says, "I would define propaganda as the dissemination of interested information and opinion",¹ he is telling the truth, perhaps, Lumley would say, but he has not given a good definition because he has not said or implied that propaganda is bad. Likewise from the point of view of Lumley, North does not give a good definition of propaganda when he says, "Propaganda seeks to win one to the support of a cause or to the acceptance of some particular proposal by favorable presentation of one side of the case".² For could not advertisers, debaters, preachers, and teachers be included under this definition? But their activities

1. Wreford, R.J.: "Propaganda, Evil and Good", 19th Century Apr. 1923, 514-524; Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 23
2. North, C.C.: Social Problems and Social Planning, p. 117; Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 25.

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are good, and propaganda is bad, indicates Lumley. The definition of Bernard is more to his liking: "Propaganda, as the word is usually understood, indicates working up a sentiment for a movement or objective which will not command support on its own merits".¹ Also looked upon favorably by Lumley are the definitions of Young, who describes propaganda as the "propagation of ideas, opinions, and attitudes, the real purpose of which is not made clear to the hearer or the reader",² and of Viereck, who says, "Propaganda is a campaign camouflaging its origin, its motives, or both, conducted for the purpose of obtaining a specific objective by manipulating public opinion. It varies from both education and publicity in that the element of camouflage is always present".³

So Lumley quotes many other definitions of propaganda, not a few of which are inadequate and biased, describing one particular kind of propaganda, or applying to propaganda generally one specific or undesirable technique. Finally he comes to his own definition. He points out that propaganda may be studied as to its source, its content, or its effect, and says, "Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, (5) the results accruing to the victims, or any one, two, three, four, or five of these".⁴

1. Bernard, L.L.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, p.486, Lumley, p. 25.

2. Young, Kimbally.: Social Psychology, p. 653, Lumley, p.28.

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1. Bernard, L.L.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, p. 486, Lumley, p. 25.
 2. Young, Kimball: "Social Pathology", p. 682, Lumley, p. 28.
 3. Vitecek, L.L.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, p. 486, Lumley, p. 25.
 4. Lumley, L.L.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, p. 486, Lumley, p. 25.

(Footnotes only)

3. Viereck, G.S.: Spreading Germs of Hate, p. 11, Lumley:
The Propaganda Menace, p. 32.

4. Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 39.

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3. Viersack, G.S.: Spreading Germs of Race, p. 11. Lumley:
The Propaganda Menace, p. 38.
4. Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 39.

Lumley feels, then, that the chief quality of propaganda that distinguishes it from advertising and education is that it is veiled. While he does not actually say in this definition that he considers propaganda a bad thing, we know from other things he has said, and from his treatment of other writer's discussions that he considers propaganda as hiding truth and disseminating lies. Reinhold Niebuhr's explanation of Propaganda expresses Lumley's ideas perhaps even better than Lumley's own definition. Niebuhr says, "Whenever the educational process is accompanied by a dishonest suppression of facts and truths, relevant to the point at issue, it becomes pure propaganda".¹

Lumley and others, then, in failing to make a distinction between education and propaganda, and in presenting propaganda as evil education, fall into a trap. Each of these terms - education and propaganda - has acquired social and moral implications. Propaganda is misleading, underhanded, invidious, dishonest; while education is enlightening, instructive, commendable, valuable. A person with this mental set, looking specifically, then, at any particular case in question, if he considers it good or honest, must necessarily consider it education; if he believes it to be evil and dishonest must call it propaganda. So that the only difference between education and propaganda comes to be in the point of view, and education is

1. Niebuhr, Reinhold: Moral Man and Immoral Society, p. 245.

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then really defined as the advocacy of what we believe in, and propaganda as the advocacy of what we do not believe in.

Let us glance at some other discussions and definitions of propaganda that discredit the point of view which Lumley represents. One of the best answers is found in Lumley's own book. "Odegard insists," he says, "that 'Propaganda is not bad. It never tells the whole truth, but who knows the whole truth to tell? It can be an instrument for good'."¹ Ivy Lee has the same opinion. He quotes from a speech by the late ex-President Coolidge: "Propaganda seeks to present a part of the facts, to distort their relations, and to force conclusions that could not be drawn from a complete and candid survey of all the facts". Then Lee says, "Will you kindly tell me of any situation in human history which has ever been presented to the people in the form of all the facts?....To present a complete and candid survey of all the facts concerning any subject is a human impossibility".²

We quote Morgan, also quoted by Lumley, in support of the unmoral character of propaganda: "Propaganda is an attempt to plant an idea with the hope of action. It may be good or bad, as the action toward which it aims is good or bad, as it uses truth or falsehood, as it appeals to the best in us or the basest".³ Mr. Bernays would also take issue with Mr. Lumley on what the latter considers to be the chief characteristic of propaganda, the fact that it is

1. Odegard, Peter: The American Public Mind, p.197, Lumley p.25.

2. Lee, Ivy: "Publicity and Propaganda", Graves: Readings in Public Opinion. p. 581-582.

3. Morgan, J.E.: "Propaganda - Its Relation to the Child Labor Issue", Ed. Vol. XVII; p. 51: Lumley, p. 34.

then really defined as the advocacy of what we believe in, and propaganda as the advocacy of what we do not believe in. Let us glance at some other discussions and definitions of propaganda that illustrate the point of view which Lumley represents. One of the best answers is found in Lumley's own book, "Occasional Inquiries" he says, "That 'Propaganda' is not bad. It never tells the whole truth, but who knows the whole truth to tell? It can be an instrument for good." Mr. Lee has the same opinion. He quotes from a speech by the late ex-President Coolidge: "Propaganda seeks to present a part of the facts, to distort their relations, and to force conclusions that could not be drawn from a complete and candid survey of all the facts". Then Lee says, "Will you kindly tell me of any situation in human history which has even been presented to the people in the form of all the facts... To present a complete and candid survey of all the facts concerning any subject is a human impossibility".

We quote Morahan, also quoted by Lumley, in support of the unusual character of propaganda: "Propaganda is an attempt to plant an idea with the hope of action. It may be good or bad, as the action toward which it aims is good or bad, as it uses truth or falsehood, as it appeals to the heart in us or the head". Mr. Morahan would also take issue with Mr. Lumley on what the latter considers to be the chief characteristics of propaganda, the fact that it is

1. Occasional Inquiries, The American Public Mind, p. 137, Lumley E. S.
 2. Lee, "Propaganda and Propagandists", University of Chicago Press, 1922.
 3. Morahan, "Propaganda - Its Relation to the Child"

veiled, as well as on its unmoral character. Bernays believes that propaganda does not necessarily defeat itself as its mechanism becomes public. To be sure, one technique, used in the case of some types of propaganda, is the veiling or hiding of truth as to source, interest, or content involved. But another and Mr. Bernays believes, a more important technique, is the appeal to authority.

Definitions in Terms of Specific Techniques

Writers other than Lumley have defined propaganda in terms of one or another of its specific techniques. So, Raymond Dodge, thinking that propaganda always depends upon the force of suggestion and an appeal to emotion, as it certainly does a great part of the time, defines it rather narrowly, saying, "All propaganda is capitalized prejudice".¹ And Lasswell similarly says, "Propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes by direct manipulation of social suggestion".² Lumley, again, in speaking of the content of propaganda says, "The content of propaganda is emotionally charged conclusions, not facts and soundly marshalled evidences".³

Another element, present in most propaganda, but not universally applicable, is emphasized by Mitchell. He also makes a concise distinction between propaganda and other similar types of activity. He says, "The object of propaganda is to promote the interests of those who contrive it,

1. Dodge, Raymond: "The Psychology of Propaganda", Park and Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p.838.
2. Lasswell: Propaganda Technique in the World War, p. 9.
3. Lumley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 267.

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2. Lasswell: Propaganda Techniques in the World War, p. 9.
3. Lumsley: The Propaganda Menace, p. 287.

rather than to benefit those to whom it is addressed; in advertising to sell an article; in publicity to state a case; in politics to forward a policy; in war to bring a victory... Those engaged in propaganda may generally believe that success will be an advantage to those whom they address, but the stimulus to their action is their own cause".¹ Strong, continuing with his definition, quoted on page thirteen, makes a clear distinction between propaganda and advertising, with which it is so often confused, when he says, "But I think we can distinguish between advertising and propaganda by saying that advertising is usually concerned with making known and desirable a definite commodity or service with the definite aim of leading many individuals as such to acquire the commodity or service. Propaganda includes many types of advertising, but it is mainly concerned with the subtle presentation to the public of information so chosen and so focused that among many individuals there develops a general 'point of view' which is favorable to the propagandist and leads to action in that general direction".²

Author's Definition, Distinctions, and Discussion

Thus, I believe, we have to look at propaganda as a social technique, as a very modern method of social control. We will not judge it a priori as either good or bad, but consider it, scientifically, objectively, a posteriori, as we would any other social instrumentality which has its

1. Mitchell: Ency. Britan. XXXII 1922, Lumley, p. 33.

2. Strong, E.K.: "Propaganda", Davis and Barnes: Readings in Sociology, p. 597.

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proper uses as well as its abuses. Only after we have carefully examined its techniques and the basis of its effectiveness and seen it in action can we attempt to judge it. The definition of propaganda in the terms of one of its techniques or on the basis of a moral judgment, and the failure to distinguish it from advertising, education, and publicity lead to all sorts of confusions, as we have seen.

To conclude this discussion of definitions of propaganda I wish to give my own definition and to point out what I believe to be the characteristics that distinguish it from similar types of activity. Propaganda is a social technique of presenting special information and opinion to a large group of people with the intention of influencing the opinions and actions of the group. Education may be distinguished from propaganda, then, by the fact that it aims at a disinterested spreading of truth generally as far as it is known for its own sake. Publicity intends to present special facts or opinions but does not necessarily expect to influence the opinions or actions of those to whom it is addressed. The aim of advertising is specifically to sell a commodity or service. This definition of propaganda is not meant in any absolute sense, and the distinctions between it and other activities is not in practice as clear cut as it seems in theory. Advertising might be called a special type of propaganda; publicity is always a part of propa-

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ganda; and much of education is propaganda. But this definition and these distinctions will serve as a sort of common denominator, an essential foundation upon which we can build our future discussion. Having thus come to some understanding of what we are talking about when we say propaganda, we will turn to a study of how propaganda works, of its methods and its specific techniques.

Part III. The Techniques of Propaganda

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Part III. The Techniques of Propaganda

The techniques of propaganda are many and varied. The ones that are used in any specific case depend to a large extent upon the circumstances, details, and aims of the project in view and also upon the persons to whom the propaganda is addressed and upon the amount of money that is available for the purpose. Because of this fact generalizations must be well qualified with specific examples.

Publicity and the Organs of Propaganda

The successful propagandist must of necessity be a good psychologist. The public to which he appeals for support is not ready-made and is often apt to be antagonistic rather than favorable toward his ideas. Thus, all the activities of the propagandist are directed toward influencing persons, toward winning them over to his point of view, toward persuading them and cajoling them to believe as he does and to do as he wants them to do. His first task is one of publicity, that is he must reach the people, he must get his message to them. So all types of social communication are used at one time or another in spreading propaganda - newspapers, radio, public speeches, magazines, trade journals, pamphlets, leaflets, letters, telegrams, posters, bill boards, throw-aways, books, conversation, gossip, the class room, whispering, sandwich men, musical trucks, sky-writing, airplane streamers, moving pictures, the drama, cartoons, pictures, statistics, diagrams, post cards, peti-

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tions, music, poetry, and song, and any other type of communication I may have failed to mention. Every method that reaches the public through any of the senses, including those other than sight and hearing, can be used by the propagandist as a part of his trade technique. Thus a ward politician who feeds his "hungry constituent" or pays for "drinks for the boys" is reaching his public through the sense of taste.

Beside reaching the public, which is sometimes all that is necessary for the propagandist to make his ideas effective, a special appeal must usually be made, a special effort to convince the people to hold the point of view presented, or to take the particular action recommended. So he who would direct the opinions and actions of others in channels of his own choosing, makes a study of the springs of human action, the basis of individual and group behavior, the development and motivation of opinions, beliefs, ideas. from his study, or more often from the results of others' study and practice, the propagandist gathers his techniques and puts them to work for the ends he wishes to achieve. We will consider now these specific techniques of propaganda, leaving for the next section of our discourse a study of the basis for their effectiveness.

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times, that it is rather difficult to separate one method from another and to analyse each separately or determine wherein lies the power of either. But I will attempt to treat separately the various techniques as I understand them, giving only enough examples to make their use clear.

Repetition

One of the simplest and most used techniques of getting across the idea is repetition. The reiterated idea is the believed idea. Repetition is one of the important elements of suggestion and sometimes has an almost hypnotic effect on the mind. Thus much of the effect of newspaper headlines comes from the fact of repetition. Perhaps the headline says, "Hultman to Resign". The business man going to catch his suburban train buys his paper from the nearest newsboy and glances hastily at the headline. Most of the other commuters have papers carrying identical or similar words brazoned in huge letters across the top. The man reads further in the article and finds that it is only some one's opinion that Hultman is going to resign, or that the Governor has threatened dire consequences if he does not. Hultman himself has said nothing on the subject; there is no certainty at all about his resigning. The papers were looking for sensational front page news and wanted to play prophet. The business man perhaps realizes these facts, but the fact that he has seen or heard the statement of

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Hultman's resignation reechoed at least one hundred times takes precedence over the truth of the case, and when he gets home he says to his wife, "Well, Hultman's resigning".

The power of advertising lies to a great extent in repetition. It is the purpose of the advertiser to get his product before the public as often as possible. We buy the articles with which we are familiar. We demand the trade-marked and advertised goods when the enterprising tradesman tries to sell us new brands. And so with any type of propaganda, repetition is an important technique. During the World War an essential part of the maintaining of morale both at the front and at home was the constant reiteration of victory for us and defeat for the enemy, with no regard whatsoever for the facts. So also in a strike situation, one of the important strategies of the industrialist or factory owner lies in the constant repetition through the press and otherwise of the failure of the strike and the return of the majority of the workers. The Prohibition law was defeated mainly by the device of repetition. The "Wets" just repeated at every opportunity the statement, "Prohibition is a failure", usually without any effort to prove it. There seems to be a movement on foot now in some quarters to defeat the Roosevelt program in the same way by saying over and over that it has not done any good. Repetition, then, is an important part of any propaganda.

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Appeal to Authority

Another simple and effective technique of propaganda is the appeal to authority. Most persons respect authority. So we use a particular tooth-paste because Dr. X., a great authority on dental hygiene, recommends it, even though in all probability no such doctor ever existed, or, if we are more critical, because it is approved by the Good Housekeeping Institute. We buy a particular type of soap because a certain popular moving picture actress keeps her camera complexion clear with it. The appeal to authority is an important part of the work of propaganda organizations, lobbying groups, and all sorts of special interest societies. "Window-dressing" is the term they use for it. When these groups are beginning their work they need a letter-head that will impress prospective contributors, possible members of the organization, and all who see it. It depends upon the type of organization, the end in view, and the persons to whom they expect to appeal, what sort of "window-dressing" is effective. The persons who are forming the organization contact "names", that is, persons who are known nationally or in the particular community. After a little explanation of the particular phase of the work of the society that would be of interest to the person in question, they are requested to join the executive committee, or to let their names be used on the letter-head as sponsors or in some other capacity. These persons may even be told they need not come

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to the meetings of the committee or take any part in the work of the organization. The work of the organization is usually done by a small minority of the committee as listed on the letter-head, or by an executive secretary or president, or perhaps by sub-committees not listed. Thus the "Industrial Defense Association Inc.", a self-styled patriotic organization of Boston, really consists of its executive secretary who does all the work of the organization. For although it has an advisory board made up of several retired army officers, several socially prominent people in Boston, a few officers of other patriotic organizations, two college professors, two Protestant ministers, four lawyers, one doctor, and several business men, these persons have said that they allowed their names to be used in a good cause, but that they have never been asked for any advice nor to attend any meeting. Other groups have their executive committees or boards of control, only partially made up of persons who serve as "window-dressing", with the remainder carrying on the work. After such a group has become well established in a community and has made its work known to all sorts of people, it may then discard some of its well-known but inactive committee members that have given it its authority and representative character and add to its staff persons less famous but more active.

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in its proselytism from the beginning, whether the authority referred to be the Pope, the Church, the Holy Fathers, St. Peter, John Calvin, Luther, the Bible, Christ, or Mary Baker Eddy. Politicians are using this same device when they refer to the "Fathers of Our Country", be it the Puritan Fathers, Washington, Lincoln, Grant, or T. Roosevelt from whom they quote. Even the Communists, who so often deride others for their dependence on authority, have their authorities with whose words their literature is filled.

The Testimonial

Closely allied to the appeal to authority is the testimonial. Large commercial concerns are using the testimonial to a great extent in their advertising. When we think of testimonials, we remember those of Lydia E. Pinkham, a pioneer in this type of advertising. The number of companies who have followed in her foot steps is so great we could not begin to enumerate them. The street car cards and magazines are full of them, advertising tooth-pastes, cough syrups, baked beans, or whatever it happens to be. Some of the more prosperous and nationally known concerns get testimonials from persons of prominence, moving picture actresses and actors, society persons, leaders in the world of sport, even President's wives. Many of these testimonials are undoubtedly faked entirely, or changed beyond recognition. Some are procured by means not always beyond criticism.

1. See: Kallip, A. & Schlink, G.: 100,000,000 Guinea Pig, New York: Vanguard Press, 1932.
 Hatcher, J.B.: Partners in Plunder, New York: Coward, 1934.

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There are concerns who make it their entire business to get testimonials for a considerable number of commercial companies. Their agent goes to a small middle-western town, perhaps, and solicits testimonials from the housewives for small sums of money. The women, glad to earn a little extra money, give their names and never know whether they are attesting to the miraculous qualities of Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound or Fels-Naptha Soap. Most of the testimonials used in eastern magazines or show cards bear western addresses and vice versa. The big testimonials are procured in other ways. The agent tells the society matron that his company will give five hundred or a thousand dollars to her favorite charity if she will allow her name to be used in its advertising. Such an appeal is difficult to resist. A considerable amount of material has appeared recently in magazines and books exposing the "testimonial racket", as practiced in commercial advertising.¹ The testimonial is used in other sorts of advertising and propaganda also.

Visual Stimuli - Moving Pictures, Pictures, Photographs

The good propagandist makes extensive use of visual stimuli. Pictures came before writing, and even the most sophisticated of us likes to look at pictures. It is the vivid presentation that convinces, and pictures are so much more vivid than words. The old proverb which says, "Seeing is believing" contains a great deal of truth. It is this

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quality of vividness and reality that gives the moving pictures such tremendous power as carriers of propaganda. The extent to which pictures, both drawings and photographs, are used as a part of propaganda can not even be estimated, let alone described. Practically all advertising now is accompanied by pictures. The testimonials mentioned above all have their pictures to add to the effect of reality and truth that is being created. Hearst, in his extensive propaganda against Russia and Communism generally, prints big pictures of mass starvation in Russia, of terribly deformed and bloated children who are starving to death, of the hovels in which these children live, of the bleaching bones of their parents and the graves of their playmates. Of the effectiveness of these pictures there is no doubt, although their authenticity might be questioned. So likewise a patriotic organization, mentioned above, in some of its propaganda material prints pictures of mass demonstrations of workers and Communists to intensify the fear it is trying to instill into the hearts of its readers. The Consumers' League, an organization devoted to the abolition of the sweat-shop, prints on the cover of a propaganda leaflet a drawing showing a poor, bedraggled working girl in an old run-down, dirty, poorly lighted shop, putting out her hand to receive her weekly wages amounting to three dollars and twenty cents, from a fat, brutal-looking boss with a big black cigar in his mouth and a hat on his head. The picture

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tells the complete story better than words ever could. The United States Marine Corps in its enlistment propaganda shows pictures of foreign lands to tempt the young man. The peace organizations have turned to pictorial propaganda and use actual photographs of war scenes to depict the awfulness of war and to turn people toward peace activities. A book chiefly made up of war pictures of this sort widely circulated last year by peace organizations is entitled "The Horror of It".¹ One of the best pieces of propaganda that I have happened to see making extensive use of photographs was that used by the Emergency Campaign of 1934 in a pamphlet called "Look Down Bleak Street". Under one of the many very good pictures it reads, "NOTHING COULD BE WRITTEN...that would be half as moving as the joy in this mother's eyes, as she helps her crippled child to dress after treatment in one of Boston's hospitals". Another picture of a little boy in ragged cap and coat, with a very freckled nose and a most winsome pleading expression in his eyes, hardly needs the caption, "Kin I come in de club?".

The Cartoon as a Picture

A specialized type of picture is the cartoon. Although part of its effect lies in the laugh it evokes, part lies also in the fact that it transforms into a picture, that it makes concrete and quickly comprehensible what might otherwise be abstract and difficult to understand. Papers

1. Barber, Frederick A.: The Horror of It - Camera Record of War's Gruesome Glories, New York: Historical Foundations, 1933.

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and magazines are full of cartoons of all sorts that are used as propaganda. Probably the cartoons used by political parties are the most common. So, a Democratic newspaper prints a cartoon showing the figure of Herbert Hoover, rather too stout and sour-looking, walking along and pointing a finger ahead. In his other hand he carries a quotation from a recent speech in which he said, "We stand on the threshold of a great forward economic movement". Above his head is a wooden sign, very shattered, broken in the middle, and held up on the wall ^wold pieces of string, bent nails, and little odd pieces of wood. The sign reads, "Prosperity Just Around the Corner". Under the cartoon it reads, "Still Holding the Pose".¹ Other special interests use the cartoon as a definite part of their propaganda. So, the work of persons with large incomes and those allied with them comes to light in a cartoon showing five horrible looking men, named crime, kidnapper, blackmailer, burglar, and extortionist, just about to go through a door labeled "Federal Income Tax - Bureau of Publicity".² And Hearst, in his anti-Soviet propaganda, shows a picture of a huge prison wall, inside which, looking like ants, march people in regular columns. Over the picture a sign reads, "U. S. S. S.". Another sign reads, "J. Stalin, warden". Under the picture we read, "The World's Largest Prison".³

1. Duffey in the Baltimore "Sun", Literary Digest, Vol. 119, p.15. April 6, 1935.
2. Enright in the New York "American", Nation's Business, Vol. 23, p.31. April, 1935.
3. Boston "American", Editorial page. February 14, 1935.

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Graphs, Charts, and Statistics

Graphs, charts, statistics, and other forms of pictorial or schematic representations of ideas are often effectively used by propagandists. The Federal Government uses graphs and statistics to show the improvement of business, the rise in farm prices, the increase in production. Financial concerns use this type of propaganda to a great extent in selling stocks and bonds and various sorts of business information. The President's Committee on Social and Economic Security put out a booklet, in an effort to show the need of economic and social security and the lack of it in our country, which is made up almost entirely of pictorial charts similar to those originated by Neurath in Germany. For instance, one of these charts is designed to show the distribution of income in the United States. Little silhouette figures of men represent the number of persons receiving yearly incomes between certain limits, each figure representing one half a million persons. Silhouette silver dollars represent the income received by these persons, each dollar representing one thousand dollars of income. Thus, at a glance, without the necessity of reading and keeping in mind long figures that can not be really comprehended, a vivid idea of income distribution in the United States can be seen. Description or statistics could never convey this information as well or as effectively as these simple charts do. The National Economy League, whose purpose it is to

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bring about a reduction of Government costs, quotes many statistics as to taxation and Government costs, and to make these latter figures more easily understood and more vivid, used a "pie" diagram; a circle represents the four billion dollar federal appropriations budget for the current fiscal year ending June 30th, 1933. This circle is divided up into sections, as a pie is cut, according to a percentage of the total budget that is used for various Government expenses.

The Symbol

A further use of the picture idea in propaganda, in an even more concentrated form, is in the use of the symbol. The urge toward the use of symbols is built into the very foundations of the mind. From the beginning of man's life he has thought in symbols. Much of literature, especially that of the church, is symbolic. The symbol is a figment of social growth and therefore particularly adaptable to the social technique of propaganda. The symbol that comes to mind immediately is the Blue Eagle. The propagandists for the New Deal picked this emblem with great care, packing into it all the meaning and traditions of America that could be put there. In the first place the eagle has long been a symbol of the United States. It signifies strength, power, endurance, independence, and Americanism, as that term is generally used. Before the United States adopted the eagle as its symbol, it had been used many times before by other

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countries to mean similar things. The Blue Eagle is a very determined looking bird, with a gear in one claw and electric sparks in the other, representing his relation to industry. The bird is blue because blue has always been a color implying courage and honesty, and because it is one of the colors of the flag. A blue eagle on a loaf of bread or a dress, or on a window of a place of business, signifies that the manufacturer or service concern is complying with certain specifications as to labor conditions, hours, wages, and so forth, as required by the National Industrial Recovery Act and its particular code.

Other symbols are very familiar to us. The Hitler swastika is one. This symbol also is very old in its use and has meant good luck and many other things throughout its history. Now it means Hitlerism, Naziism, or fascism in general. The Communist party in its propaganda makes use of this symbol on the cover of a booklet attacking Hearst. It shows the head of Hearst attached to the wings and body of a bat made of newspapers, and the head of Hitler, similarly placed, as the head of a bat; the wings of these creatures cross to form a swastika.¹ The Communists make rather effective use of both these symbols, the Blue Eagle and the swastiks, in a cartoon made up of a series of pictures, the first showing the conventional eagle, carrying in one claw, instead of a gear, a crushed and bleeding worker,

1. Dunne, William F.: Why Hearst Lies About Communism, New York: Workers Library Publishers, March, 1935.

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and in the other instead of electricity, a bunch of guns and swords. They call this bird the "Blue Buzzard". A strong wind is blowing and the eagle seems to be on a pivot and starts revolving; he changes form slowly, and in the last picture is seen as the Nazi swastika. and Life busy instead of dead. There are many other common symbols. The flag is a symbol of the nation, and is used as a sort of propaganda by many of the patriotic societies. Political parties have symbols that have developed over the years and have become linked with particular ideas. Thus we have the donkey and the elephant, for the Democrats and the Republicans, and for the Communists the hammer and sickle, and for the Socialists the torch in upraised hand. Symbols are often used in cartoons as we have seen. So, we find Uncle Sam, John Bull, Liberty, Dame Boston, the fat capitalist with the money bag, the tall ^{Puritan} ~~piritan~~ gentleman with the sombre black clothes who represents the "drys", and all the other familiar symbols who appear in the papers and magazines every day. In the industrial world the trade mark is a kind of symbol.

Symbolic Words

Besides the use of actual pictures and symbols as a technique of propaganda, there is the use of words, both oral and written, which have a high pictorial or symbolic content, words with many and deep connotations, graphic words that are common to all times and all peoples. Thus advertising

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is full of pictorial words and names. And the choosing of a name for a new product is a very important matter in determining its salability. A product whose name suggests a pleasant picture is much more likely to attract purchasers. Thus soaps are named Ivory, Palmolive, and Life Buoy instead of being named from the company or head of the company that manufactures them. All propaganda is filled with phrases and words that bring pictures into the mind of the reader or hearer. So, the patriotic organization mentioned before entitles a pamphlet against Russia "The Grave-Diggers of Russia" and makes extensive use of such words as murder, blood purge, butcheries, starvation. The Propaganda leaflet of the Emergency Campaign of 1934, beside having many actual pictures, includes many word pictures, and introduces brief pictorial case studies. The peace organizations also present word pictures as well as photographs in their propaganda.

Symbolic words are the stock in trade of the propagandist, especially the Fourth-of-July orator type, the professional politician, patriot, or agitator. Men such as these make references to words and phrases that conjure up traditional feelings such as the sanctity of the home and the family, the love of children and animals, and all the homely virtues. Thus he connects up the particular idea that he is trying to put across with ideas that already stir up a pleasant reaction in the mind of his audience, and through

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a sort of transmission belt he gets a favorable reaction to his ideas. These institutional symbols, charged with images and meanings already attached to them, stimulate learned emotional reactions that are caught hold of by the propagandist and used for his own ends to gain support for his own cause. The new things are connected with symbols of truth and goodness in the past, traditions, dogmas, proverbs, and truisms that have gathered connotations for many years and are full of meaning for everyone. The aspiring candidate for political office, therefore, is said to be a good family man, fond of his wife and children and his home. He is a regular church attendant and belongs to at least one of the popular men's clubs. He is pictured romping with the family mongrel. These same symbols are used in attacking a particular person, organization, or belief. The politician may say, then, that his opponent is not a good family man, has not been faithful to his wife, or is disliked by animals. Liquor or Communism may be attacked as the destroyer and defiler of the family, the home, the youth, the church, law and order, public morality, or any other symbol of civilization.

Beside these symbols of an international or racial character there are all sorts of national symbols that are used in the same way. Patriotism and Americanism are linked up with the aims and activities of the particular person being propagandised, and all persons or ideas opposed to them

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are foreign or un-American. The speeches of demagogues are full of such symbolic words as our flag, Old Glory, democracy, national defense, justice, welfare, freedom, rights of man, progressivism, humanity, correct principles, representative, reunion, Lincoln, Washington, our Founding Fathers, and all the many other shiboleths and cliches that link up the idea that is being pushed with ideas that already are pleasant and bring a favorable response. Of course the ideas that are being opposed are contrary to all these symbolic entities. The Industrial Defense Association in its little pamphlet mentioned before provides a good example of what is meant by the use of symbolic words as a technique of propaganda. On the second page of "The Grave Diggers of Russia" we find an explanation and introduction to the pamphlet.

It reads as follows:

"We present, pictorially, some of the founders of Red-Russia -- men who won their places in the Soviet Sun by their butcheries, and other major crimes.

"If you favor the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, mentally, morally, or otherwise, compare this band of criminals and their ruthless, self-seeking, tyrannical successors with the founders of America -- the Pilgrim Fathers, the Puritans, Paul Revere, John Adams, Joseph Warren, John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington, to mention but a few of our great patriots.

"We honor the memory of our Forefathers but who, by any stretch of the imagination, could honor the Grave Diggers of Russia?"

If all the words in this quotation that are primarily symbolic were to be underlined, there would be few words left,

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and most of the remaining words have a definite emotional coloring. Further on in the pamphlet we read:

"Now is the time that all loyal Americans should stand guard and repel every attempt that is made to undermine the Government of the United States.....

"..In Russia, the Home, Religion, the Family and all Nationalism has been destroyed.....

"Buy Yankee Doodle Dandy products -- not slave-made Russian -- if you would help start the wheels of American industry."

On the back cover we find the question: "WHAT IS AMERICANISM?" and its answer:

"The Americanization Committee of the Patriotic Order Sons of America, State Camp of New Jersey, has adopted the Veterans' definition of Americanism, as follows: 'Americanism is an unfailing love of country; loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies; undivided allegiance to the Flag and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity'.

"If you believe in recognising the Grave Diggers of Russia, you cannot subscribe to the above definition of Americanism".

Radicals and representatives of labor also make use of these same symbolic words, around which they have built up a particular symbolic meaning familiar to the members of their organizations and their sympathizers. Thus on the cover of the Call to the "Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction," held in Washington in May, 1933, we find a quotation from William Green, that makes use of the symbolism used above and also of the familiar symbolism of the army. He says in part:

"For we shall soon be on the march. We may fail, we may

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"For we shall soon be on the march. We may fall, we may

return more bedraggled than we are, with America more sunk under the crushing weight of injustice than it is, but we shall have fought, and every justice loving American will have had his change to struggle to guarantee the right to pursue happiness without being hopelessly out-distanced in the race."

Slogans and Labels

These symbolic words are used with great effect in all sorts of slogans and labels, that are an important part of the technique of the propagandist. Many a cause has won support mainly through its slogan, its catch word or its cries. Slogans that were used effectively during the World War include "No territory for Great Britain, "A war to end war", "To make the world safe for Democracy", "To crush militarism", "To defend small minorities", "Freedom of the Seas", "Liberation of oppressed peoples". So, the present war against Communism, that is being rigorously waged by the patriotic organizations, has also its catch-words and slogans, some of which we list as gleaned from the Hearst Press. They are fighting Communism "To save America, "To prevent the destruction of the home, religion, the family, and all nationalism", "To protect our children, our teachers, and our schools from the Reds, the Communists, the Bolsheviks, the Socialists, and wry-necked Intellectuals". For a good part of the propaganda of these organizations consists in the labeling of persons and organizations as questionable or subversive. In this connection there is the famous D.A.R. Blacklist published in 1928 and circulated throughout

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the country among the chapters of the organization. This list was a compilation of the names of persons, many of them famous or prominent men and women in the country and in Massachusetts, who were declared to be undesirable speakers; and organizations which were pro-labor or radical, and whose members were to be barred from speaking before the D.A.R. After the name of each person on the list was a label. Thus, after the name of Harry W.L. Dana, for instance, appear the words communist, socialist, pacifist, defeatist. Other labels used are pro-German, Christian socialist, negro socialist, leader of Youth Movement, pro-Soviet, internationalist, church socialist, and radical pacifist. The organizations were classified under the following headings: "Workers' Schools and Colleges", "Organizations Interlocking with Radical Groups Either Through Their Directorates or Legislative Programs", "Socialist-Communist Organizations", and "Labor Organizations".¹ The Industrial Defense Association in a "Special Report" entitles "The Swan Song of Hate" gives a much smaller list of a similar sort which it entitles "Questionable Organizations Helpful to the Jew-Controlled Soviet Government". A very recent example of this type of labeling is seen in the book written by Elizabeth Dilling, entitled the "Red Network", and including Mrs. Roosevelt among its list of thirteen hundred persons alleged to be supporting revolutionary trends. The American Legion in its current campaign has for a battle-cry, "Against all 'isms

1. Boston Daily Advertiser, pp. 3, 8, and 9. April 3, 1928

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The Communists are just as glib at hurling epithets as are their chief opponents. Among the labels which recur in their literature may be found capitalist, industrialist, fascist, Nazi, reactionary, labor-faker, rightist, imperialist, which names they apply to all sorts of persons and organizations whom they feel should be described as "enemies of the working class". Many other organizations attempt to praise or damn by the use of epithets, and have slogans as a regular part of their propaganda.

Appeal to Reason

Another technique of propaganda is the appeal to reason. Although some authorities feel that the distinctive quality of propaganda that sets it apart from similar social phenomena is its emotional appeal as opposed to an intellectual appeal such as that of education, the truth is that not all propaganda makes a non-rational, emotional appeal, although probably a large percentage does. Propaganda at one time or another appeals to the whole man, and as man can be reached through his mind, it appeals to his rational powers in an effort to form or change his analysis or judgment of the particular question at hand.

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articles makes its chief appeal in a scientific analysis of its goods and an honest statement of just what services they will perform. It exposes the false claims and high pressure propaganda of other concerns, and substitutes its own real scientific analyses in place of pseudo-scientific statements. The propaganda of such financial organizations as Babson's Reports Incorporated is primarily made up of the rational appeal of hard-headed facts. Most organizations of a liberal sort who are attempting to reform various aspects of every day life make a rational appeal. Thus the Massachusetts Civic League puts out a very matter-of-fact little quarterly bulletin, "The Lens", in which it gives facts and carefully considered opinions about its particular fields of interest - civil service, prevention of unsightly bill-boards, crime, child welfare, education, housing, public health, the moving pictures, and the police. A good part of the propaganda of the radical parties is made up of rational appeals. They realize that for the long-run success of their ideas there must be an intellectual conversion as well as an emotional one. The Communist Party in Boston runs a Workers' School as a part of its propaganda, for which it issues a prosaic bulletin or catalogue of classes, which, except for the subject matter, might well be part of the regular catalogue of any evening school or the extension courses of a university.

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The Emotional Appeal

Of course, as I have indicated, the greatest percentage of the most used and probably the most effective techniques does consist in the exploitation of the non-rational sides of man's character. Many authorities have pointed out that by far the greatest part of man's behavior and belief is motivated by emotional and not rational forces. So, the clever propagandist, recognising what psychologists call the "primacy of the emotions" in human behavior and belief, directs his appeal to peoples' feelings, and gives the special information which he is presenting a definite emotional coloring. There are no emotions that are particularly suited to the use of the propagandist. In his work he runs the whole gamut of the human emotions, and does not hesitate to turn any human feeling, however holy or base, to his own ends.

To Love and Affection

We have seen in our discussion of the use of symbolic words in propaganda how appeals are made to feelings of love and affection for children and the home. Patent medicine manufacturers, automobile makers, and life insurance companies, as well as patriots, say their products are especially intended for the comfort and safety of children, and in their propaganda they show attractive pictures of children. We have also seen how appeals are made to love of one's

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country and national traditions. The propagandist is appealing to affection when he presents the political candidate as a genial fellow with a touch of the common man, and refers to him as "Jim" or "Bill", or by any other pet nickname. Much of Theodore Roosevelt's popularity depended upon the feeling of affection built up about him, and everybody referred to him as "Teddy", the "Colonel", or "T. R.". So, Calvin Coolidge was presented as a common man of humble origins and lovingly referred to as "Cal". "Al" Smith also ran his campaigns on the basis of his nickname and his humble origins, and declared himself to be a "friend of the people". Affection and respect for the aged is made the basis for some propaganda. We are told that a certain man was good to his aged parents and made their last days happy and buried them in pomp and circumstance. His opponent refused to have his parents live with him and gave them inadequate money to live on. An old lady, speaking over the radio this last fall during the Curley campaign and telling about the qualifications of the candidate for Governor referred in a shaky voice to "his sainted mother".

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Association circulates a leaflet on one side of which is a photostatic copy of a Russian anti-religious poster and on the other side of which is an explanation of the poster and a religious appeal, part of which reads as follows:

"The battle is the Lord's and not man's, yet it is up to us to show our colors.. This is not a war against flesh and blood, but against wicked spirits, and therefore it is to be waged chiefly on the knees.....

"...Pray -- is the biggest word in letters from those martyrs in Russia. May the Holy Spirit vivify this appeal to you, for their sufferings -- both spiritual and physical, including starvation-- are beyond human endurance."

Peace organizations and charitable societies direct their propaganda primarily toward Christian feelings and virtues. "Friendships not Battleships" is the cry of one peace society. "Christ the Pacifist" is emphasized, and the fact that humanity must be saved from the un-Christian murders of war. Charities appeal to feelings of pity for the weak and sick and sympathy for the unfortunate. Some of the propaganda of the War was built on the Christian ideal of sacrifice. Mothers sacrificed their sons, sons their lives, and all of us our sugar, white bread, and cigarettes for our native land. Justice is a favorite feeling to which to appeal. Many liberal organizations include the word justice in their name and in their propaganda. Father Coughlin calls his organization the "National Union for Social Justice". The Committee working for the retention of Mr. Gill at Norfolk called itself the "Prison Justice Committee".

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To Moral Ideas of Good and Bad

Propaganda exploits man's moral nature, his natural tendencies to see things as either good or bad, and brooking no shadings or qualifications that tend to dull and lessen the intensity of the moral reaction or that tend to breed analysis or intelligent judgment, paint everything in bold outlines of light and shadow, of black and white, of depravity and holiness. A fine example of this type of propaganda, carried almost to an absurdity, can be seen in some of the statements of the prohibitionists. Peter Odegard, in his book on the propaganda techniques of the Anti-Saloon League, quotes from a magazine of 1912: "The Saloon is the storm center of crime; the devil's headquarters on earth;...the degrader of ideals; the defiler of youth; the enemy of the home; the foe of peace;...the beast of sensuality;...the social vulture;...the serpent of Eden;...a ponderous second edition of hell, revised, enlarged, and illuminated".¹ Drink was painted as the enemy of all that is good and the source of all evil, and the attempt was made to build up the same abhorrence to drinking as to breaking the Ten Commandments. The propagandist always tries to link up his cause with the forces of good, and the cause of his opponent with the forces of evil. So, in the campaign for Mr. Gill, he was associated with all the socially prominent people, and ministers, and religious organizations, and societies known to be working for the good of humanity. And the

1. Odegard, Peter: "Pressure Politics", Graves; Readings in Public Opinion, p. 727-728.

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patriotic organizations, as we have seen, link up persons with whom they disagree with Moscow and the criminal world. Communists, Socialists, and even Democratic politicians link up opponents with Wall Street, or Morgan, or Rockefeller, or the Big Bankers.

To Fear and Hate

Emotions of fear and hate are aroused by the propagandist and directed into his chosen channels. Hatred of the enemy, especially the Germans, was stirred up on such a grand scale during the World War by means of atrocity stories, pictures, and other methods of propaganda that the German language was no longer taught in the schools, German music was not played, and all things that could in any way be considered German were routed out of our national life. The patriots are trying to build up a hatred of Communism and a fear of revolution in the country today that will lead to larger army and navy appropriations and support of veterans organizations and demands. They say, or imply, as they did at the hearing on the Teachers' Oath bill that there are twenty million Communists in the country who are plotting a revolution in October, who are undermining the constitution, over-running the schools of the country, and teaching the children to salute the red flag instead of the American flag. Sometimes support of charities is appealed for on the basis of fear of revolution.

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 link up opponents with Wall Street, or Morgan, or Rockefeller,
 or the Big Bankers.

To Fear and Hate

Emotions of fear and hate are aroused by the propa-
 gandist and directed into his chosen channels. Hated of the
 enemy, especially the Germans, was stirred up on such a
 grand scale during the World War by means of atrocious stories,
 pictures, and other methods of propaganda that the German
 language was no longer taught in the schools, German music
 was not played, and all things that could in any way be con-
 sidered German were rooted out of our national life. The
 patriots are trying to build up a hatred of Communism and
 a fear of revolution in the country today that will lead to
 larger army and navy appropriations and support of veterans
 organizations and demands. They say, or imply, as they did
 at the hearing on the Teachers' Oath Bill that there are
 twenty million Communists in the country who are plotting a
 revolution in October, who are undermining the constitution,
 over-running the schools of the country, and teaching the
 children to salute the red flag instead of the American flag.
 Sometimes support of charities is appealed for on the basis
 of fear of revolution.

"War scares" are sometimes built up by the papers just prior to the voting in Congress on the ^{opr} appropriations for national defense. It is claimed that Hearst and the large armament manufacturers have been back of several such "scares", especially recently, by playing up the possibility of a war against Japan. Public utility holding companies and operating companies have been conducting an extensive campaign against the T. V. A. and the Wheeler-Rayburn "Public Utilities Act of 1935" by stimulating among their stock holders a fear of loss of money and the coming of public ownership. Communists, of course, ^{stir} ~~stir~~ up feelings of class hatred and fear of suppression.

To Religious and Racial Prejudice

Prejudice, religious and racial, takes its place among the human feelings that are played upon by the propagandist. During the Hoover-Smith campaign religious prejudice played an important part, although usually it was veiled and aroused by implications rather than by outright statements. Protestants outwardly disclaimed any accusations that they acted on grounds of prejudice, giving as reasons for their opposition the fact that Smith was not cultured, lacked dignity, or respectability. But with their neighbors they held whispered conversations concerning the horrors of being ruled by the Pope. And some elements among the Republican politicians encouraged this sort of a whispering

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campaign. The propaganda of the Ku Klux ^{Klan}~~Klan~~, based definitely on religious and racial prejudice, was chiefly of an underground whispering sort. Just a few weeks ago racial prejudice was appealed to at a hearing in the Massachusetts State House. A woman representing some of the interests that opposed the passage of the Child Labor Amendment in this state was pointing out the differences in standards between the North and the South and had said that in the South "great big hulking boys" were men at fourteen years of age, and most of them were married at seventeen; then she said, "Do we want negroes of eighteen to go to school?".

A considerable appeal to anti-Semitic sentiment is being made in the United States today. John L. Spivak, muck-raker for the Communists, but considered authentic in his statements and facts by many persons other than Communists, has written a series of articles now compiled into a pamphlet, dealing in detail with anti-Semitism in America. On one of the last pages of his pamphlet he says, "We have already seen in these articles the amazing network of anti-Semitic hate woven by these Hitler agents. We have seen the international intrigue, the hook-ups with nationally known 'patriotic' organizations, the far flung spidery web of hate reaching into and out of every walk of life, desperately fostering hatred of a people in an effort to make it the scapegoat for a crumbling economic system even as Hitler used Jews and Communists as scapegoats".¹. One of the

1. Spivak, John L.: Plotting America's Pogroms, p. 90.

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"patriotic" organizations discussed in this pamphlet is the "Industrial Defense Association" whose literature has been quoted above. Although Mr. Hunter states that his association is "organized to inculcate the principles of Americanism in Industrial, Fraternal, and Educational Circles", the theory that underlies all his ideas and statements seems to be, "All Jews are Communists, and all Communists are Jews". Every one of his "Grave Diggers", if he is not definitely labelled as a Jew, is pictured with an enormous Jewish nose. His "Swan Song of Hate" is almost entirely anti-Semitic. To quote only a brief example:

"Mr. and Mrs. American, what would your reaction be if forty or fifty thousand Jews, speaking all languages and as dirty as the average European Jew that lands in America, were dumped into Brookline, Arlington, Somerville, Cambridge, or any other city of equal size in New England?" (Page 13)

Another "Special Report" is entitled "World Anti-Judaism", from which is selected only one paragraph and the final appeal:

"In view of the evidence of Gentile rebellion against attempted Jewish domination the world over, it might not be a bad idea for certain leather-lunged Jewish leaders to inform the Gentile public where any patriotic Gentile American citizen may be found who lacks the "Anti-Jew Mind", and who is not convinced that a small minority of self-appointed radical leaders are bringing disaster to the Jews of every country of the world." (Page 2)

"If you believe that the number of Jews holding offices and key positions in public life, as well as those in the professions, industry, merchandising, and the productive trades should be reduced to conform with their numerical strength in contrast with that of our native born and adopted citizens, then you should be a supporter of the Industrial Defense Association, Inc." (Page 6)

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To balance these quotation an example of this same type of hysterical, emotional appeal to prejudice coming from the other side is cited. Quoting from a Jewish attack on Germans and Gentiles:

"And indeed we have no desire to answer chauvinism with chauvinism. That would be playing Hitler's own game. But stretching the hand of friendship to those who assassinate-- that is another matter. Stretching the hand of friendship to men who proscribe thought, who burn books, who torture labor leaders, who spit on justice, who are hounding the Jews to death, who indulge in such loathsome barbarism as ordering pacifist prisoners in the concentration camps to masturbate at the point of revolvers, stretching out our hands to these men, a conspiracy which is weaving its net tighter around us every day? That we cannot do."¹

To The Sex Instinct

A basic human instinct which is exploited by propaganda is the sex instinct. Much advertising, through pictures and other media, makes a definite appeal of a sexual sort. Thus, the young man is urged to use some particular sort of shaving cream so that his girl will not be offended or leave him because of his stubbly chin. The Chase and Sanborn Tea Company recently made quite a bald appeal of this sort in its bill board advertising, showing a scantily dressed woman and an attractive man in intimate conversation and informal posture, and bearing the caption: "Drink Chase and Sanborn's tea--it stimulates the emotions." The cigarette manufacturers have been making this sort of an appeal for quite a time. Lucky Strike seems to have launched a new campaign along these lines. They show in an inset picture a young couple in evening attire, the girl lighting her own cigarette, having just

1. Van Paassen: Silence is Criminal.

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lit the man's, and a large cigarette which appears to be saying: "I'm your best friend. Remember that I brought you two together? I am your Lucky Strike."

The Committee on Militarism in Education has made an exhaustive study of the use of sexual appeal used by the U.S. War Department in popularizing military training in high schools and colleges. They point out that pretty girls are made honorary officers and sponsors of the R.O.T.C. units, that they have girls' rifle teams, that the girls wear uniforms and review the male cadets, that they lead off the social affairs and their pictures are published in the papers with remarks as to how fetching they are. The Committee, in one of its pamphlets, quotes from the "Baltimore Sun" of January 1, 1929, in part as follows:

"Admits 'It' Is Used To Aid R.O.T.C. Idea"

"Girl Sponsor Agrees Sex Appeal Is Capitalized On Behalf Of Students"

"Charges made in the House of Representatives by Rep. Ross A. Collins, Democrat, Mississippi, that sex appeal and social aspirations are capitalized in the nation-wide development of the military idea were declared true last night by the regimental sponsor of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at the University of Maryland.

"Miss Estelle Nickell, of Rising Sun, Md., who was chosen early in November as sponsor of the R.O.T.C. regiment at the University said: "It is true"....

"The fact that the boys like to have girls watch them.... at the drills would probably account for the popularity of the practice. And it does undoubtedly add to the amount of publicity that can be given the R.O.T.C....."¹

To Other Emotions

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1. So This Is War!, published by The Committee on Militarism in Education, p. 9.

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Many other feelings and emotions are drawn upon to

make for the ~~success~~^{success} of propaganda. Selfishness, greed, love of power and profit, so highly developed in our civilization, are utilized by the large financial concerns to their own interest. Babson's Reports are very idealistic in their appeals generally. Their "Supervised Investment Service" declares:

"Our recommendations are advised, revised, and supervised solely in your best interests to help you protect your principal, increase your income, and take advantage of attractive profit opportunities". Other investment concerns are less idealistic in their language and make a more specific appeal to man's acquisitive tendencies. Appeals to the competitive side of man's nature are made in all sorts of prize winning contests. There is a magazine devoted to listing the details of all the various prize winning contests that are being conducted. Man's desire for personal recognition by his companions, his desire to be a leader and not a social failure, his tendency to feelings of inferiority, his natural vanity, are all used as bases for special appeals. So, the United States Army in its publicity says in substance: "Join Now-- The United States Army takes only the highest type of men-- It needs you." And quoting again from So This Is War!, we read part of a speech delivered by the President of the University of Missouri to the R.O.T.C.:

"Perhaps the greatest benefit of military training, however, is its training in the qualities of leadership. It is the only school subject that furnishes this practice... It is also a selfish problem: In case of war, do you want to be a private or an officer?"¹

1. So This Is War!, supra, p.30.

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In an announcement of classes conducted by the Workers' Education Council of Greater Boston, the first sentence of a description for a course in current events and public speaking reads: "Do you feel handicapped by inability to think and express yourself effectively?" Commercial concerns advertise this or that shaving cream, mouth wash, tooth paste, soap, laxative, food, drink to give pep and create popularity with the opposite sex, to eliminate bad breath or body odours and so help keep a job or a wife, or to induce sleep. Man's escape to wishful thinking and tendency to turn to panaceas for a cure for all ills, upon which the old patent medicine man played with such success, is still the basis of some kinds of propaganda. Patent medicine concerns and all sorts of manufacturers of cosmetics, tooth pastes, and toilet articles of various kinds still claim that their products are cure-alls. But the modern medicine man is an economic one. So, we have our Father Coughlins, our Huey Longs, and our Townsends, who advocate some particular economic panacea to cure of sick social system. They paint lovely pictures of a future society which is a heaven on earth, and seek popular support, moral and financial. They appeal to man's desire to escape reality, and build castles in the air which are beautiful but none the less unreal. Thus, those responsible for the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the Hitler coup d'etat, have painted pictures of utopias to come.

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The Cartoon

The cartoon as a technique of propaganda, aside from its effectiveness in a symbolic way, is effective because of its element of humor. Laughing is a pleasant sensation, and we are apt to be kindly disposed toward those who cause us to laugh or with whom we laugh. Several commercial concerns are now advertising their wares by means of comic strips. But the laughter of ridicule, as opposed to the laughter of amusement, has the opposite effect and is a very effective mode of propaganda in opposition to any particular person or cause. The "Wets" tried to laugh the "Drys" out of existence. Organized campaigns of ridicule have spoiled many a man's ambition and made him a laughing stock to boot. In the Gill campaign (supra) there was an attempt to represent Mr. Gill as an idealistic crack-pot, who permitted his housekeeper to match her kitchen walls with the colors of live chickens brought in for the occasion. The idea was to present him in such a ridiculous light that public confidence in his sanity would be undermined.

The Aesthetic Appeal

Love of beauty is inherent in most of us, and this fact is taken advantage of by the propagandist. He makes the presentation of his goods, his ideas, his beliefs, or his actions just as attractive as possible. He also links his product up with something of accepted aesthetic value. So, several years ago Ivory Soap conducted a soap sculpture con-

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 test for children. Much, the present radio advertising is built on this principle. A cigarette company, then, or a manufacturer of disinfectant presents the Metropolitan Opera. This is done with a minimum of advertising and the feeling that additional business will accrue from sheer good will. We also have the Ford Symphony Orchestra, the General Motors Concert, and the Jenney Hour, as well as hundreds of lesser hours, half-hours, or minutes of music, song, or drama. The radio advertisements include also, of course, a great many hours of jokes and fun that likewise lead to a feeling of good will toward the advertiser and a likelihood of patronage.

Stunts

All sorts of stunts that attract attention, applause, or sympathy are parts of the technique of propaganda. Thus, the suffragettes in England chained themselves to the railing outside the House of Commons in the early days of the fight for woman suffrage. Recently, in Cambridge, Communist students tied themselves to a fence where a fascist was about to speak. Carrie Nation with her hatchet was a familiar figure of pre-prohibition days. Not long ago Margaret Sanger of the Birth Control League was forbidden to speak at a meeting in Ford Hall in Boston. A banquet in her honor was held, however, at which other persons spoke. In order to obtain publicity for the occasion a very clever and amusing stunt was staged. A party of sympathizers met Mrs. Sanger at the train

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and completely gagged her with an enormous piece of white cloth. With great pomp she was marched from the station to Ford Hall. She sat at table, neither eating nor speaking throughout the dinner and meeting; and not until she was safely in her hotel room was the gag removed. People's love of the unusual and desire for excitement are thus made the basis of propaganda.

Techniques of Organization--The Lobby

A special technique of propaganda, some phases of which have already been mentioned, is that of organization. Some sort of coherent, concise organization is necessary to every sort of propaganda, but reference here is made to organization as employed by special interest groups, or what are popularly known as lobbies. These groups use many of the techniques already discussed, but they combine them in special ways and make use of other particular methods and organs of propaganda. Their special correlation of methods and configuration of devices form a sort of collective propaganda pattern. Literally hundreds and even thousands of such organizations exist. It has been estimated that there are at least 600 lobbies permanently located at Washington and that many more come there and camp for the duration of the legislative session. The purpose of most such organizations is to influence the processes of government, to bend them this way or that. Many state and smaller community lobbies exist as

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The motive force behind these groups is usually a small group of people, working either for their own good, or for some greater good. These people get together and decide how they will conduct their campiagn, what forces they will try to allign, and to whom special appeals will be made. They plan a definite course of action, get someone to do the ex-

1. Vide, Herring: Group Representation Before Congress.

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ecutive, and plan a financial campaign through appeal to a few supporters with money, or through a more general financial appeal. Then an effort is made through personal contact, letter, or telephone to secure the support of key persons in all groups in the community, whose names and cooperation induce support from many other people who follow their leadership.

The Gill Campaign

To illustrate organization as a technique the campaign for the retention of Howard B. Gill at Norfolk is in point.¹ The handful of people who were the nerve center of the campaign was drawn chiefly from the friends of Mr. Gill, supporters of the Norfolk idea, and two organizations, the Massachusetts Civic League and the League for Independent Political Action, which have continuing programs for prison reform. Early in the campaign the support of key persons in all fields of work in Boston and particularly in the field of penology, was procured. No formal organization, however, was erected. Money came chiefly in the form of donations from men interested in the Norfolk idea and from friends of Gill. The informal organization directed publicity, mapped out strategy, and directed pressure at effective points.

The chief aims of the campaign were to keep Mr. Gill and his regime at Norfolk, to counteract propaganda issuing from the State House by publicising support of Mr. Gill and his regime ^{by} of people of all sorts in the Commonwealth, and

1. The author played an insignificant but instructive role in this campaign.

executive, and plan a financial campaign through appeal to a few supporters with money, or through a more general financial appeal. Then effort is made through personal contact, letter or telephone to secure the support of key persons in all groups in the community, whose names and cooperation induce support from many other people who follow their leadership.

The Gill Campaign

To illustrate organization as a technique the campaign for the retention of Howard B. Gill at Norfolk is in point.¹ The handful of people who were the nerve center of the campaign was drawn chiefly from the friends of Mr. Gill, supporters of the Norfolk idea, and two organizations, the Massachusetts Civic League and the League for Independent Political Action, which have continuing programs for prison reform. Early in the campaign the support of key persons in all fields of work in Boston and particularly in the field of penology, was procured. No formal organization, however, was erected. Money came chiefly in the form of donations from men interested in the Norfolk idea and from friends of Gill. The informal organization directed publicity, mapped out strategy, and directed pressure selective points.

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to utilize this evidence as pressure on responsible state officials.

The Gill Committee reported every speech, letter, or article, therefore, to the Boston newspapers. Copies of some of the releases were mimeographed and sent to every paper in the state with special "cover" letters. Pressure was put on newspapers in Boston to alter the character of their press policy to favor Mr. Gill. Error was diligently exposed and the prejudiced attitude of the newspapers was made public through speeches and letters sent to sympathizers. Editors were contacted and attempts made to cajole or threaten them into a more favorable attitude. Subscribers were urged to boycott.

Endorsements of Mr. Gill and his regime, solicited and unsolicited, came to the committee office. Copies of some of these letters were multigraphed out to a select mailing list. Special letters were drawn up and signed by prominent members of some particular profession or group, multigraphed, and then sent to members of the group throughout the state. Typical groups to whom such letters were sent are: members of the Massachusetts Building Trades Council, the officers of women's clubs, 100 pastors, the officers of all Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions clubs, and social workers in Boston and vicinity. An extensive and selected mailing list of about 4,000 names was compiled, catalogued,

substantiate this evidence as pressure on responsible state officials.

The Giff Committee reported every speech, letter, or article, therefore, to the Boston newspapers. Copies of some of the releases were mimeographed and sent to every paper in the state with special "cover" letters. Pressure was put on newspapers in Boston to alter the character of their press policy to favor Mr. Giff. Error was diligently exposed and the prejudiced attitude of the newspapers was made public through speeches and letters sent to sympathizers. Editors were contacted and attempts made to cajole or threaten them into a more favorable attitude. Subscribers were urged to boycott.

Endorsements of Mr. Giff and his regime, solicited and unsolicited, came to the committee office. Copies of some of these letters were mimeographed out to a select mailing list. Special letters were drawn up and signed by prominent members of some particular profession or group, mimeographed, and then sent to members of the group throughout the state. Typical groups to whom such letters were sent are: members of the Massachusetts Building Trades Council, the officers of women's clubs, 100 pastors, the officers of all Masonry, Elks, and Lions clubs, and social workers in Boston and vicinity. An extensive and selected mailing list of about 5,000 names was compiled, mimeographed,

and circularized with form letters and special releases at irregular intervals. This mailing list included: members of the Citizens Committee on the Cause and Cure of Crime of the Massachusetts Civic League, members of the League for Independent Political Action, Judge Baker Foundation Correspondents, sponsors of ex-prisoners of Norfolk, officers of all societies addressed by Gill or in his interests within the past five years, all officers of women's clubs in the state, 600 selected ministers, 200 selected college professors, 100 selected labor organizers, selectmen of towns near Norfolk, and many individuals who were sympathetic to the cause. Hundreds of speeches were made all throughout the campaign to any sort of an organization that would listen and over as broad an area of the state as possible. In all the speeches and letters, people were asked to write individually or in the form of a petition to the Governor and/or the Commissioner of Correction urging the retention of Mr. Gill. The ministers were circularized twice and urged to preach on the subject and send reports to the local press and to the Governor, as well as to secure petitions and get letters sent.

A clipping bureau was maintained, and all newspaper publicity was carefully filed. A research staff analysed the publicity and assisted the public relations counsel in mapping out the course of the campaign. The members of the

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General Court were circularized at least twice and interviewed by members of their constituency. A card catalogue of their statements and attitudes was carefully kept. The members of the Governor's Council were interviewed, and when found favorable, were urged to exert pressure on the Governor. People of social standing in Boston were urged to write the Governor and to see him in groups or individually, as it was understood that Ely had social ambitions. Several special committees as well as public relations counsel made periodic calls on the Governor and the Commissioner of Correction. Some political barter was attempted; threats were made to expose somewhat questionable aspects of the Governor's pardon policy and his personal life.

The Hearings were given wide publicity and petitions were signed by those unable to get into the Hearing chambers and sent to the Governor and the press. A mass meeting was planned and prepared for, but unaccountably was deferred until it was too late. Clubs of interested persons began to be formed.

Although the campaign did not secure its chief objective--the retention of Mr. Gill at Norfolk, it did build up a considerable knowledge of, and interest in, progressive penology, and, in addition, furnished a tentative basis for permanent organization. This interest and sentiment has been extensively drawn ^{upon} ~~up~~ in the recent difficulties in the

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Department of Crime Prevention.

Suggestion

We now turn from a study of the more obvious and simple techniques of propaganda to consideration of those of a more subtle sort, those more difficult to analyse as they are more difficult to put into effect, those that deal with suggestion, implication, insinuation, and logic. Much that has already been said about the use of made of symbolic words and words with emotional colorings, and about repetitions as a technique could as well have been said here, for these methods are of a more subtle sort. The bases of the effectiveness of these techniques lie deep in man's psychological and mental make-up, in his natural susceptibility to suggestion, his impulse to imitate and follow the leaders, his gullibility, his mental inertia, and his tendency to false reasoning. He who is master of the "gentle" art of propaganda takes advantage of these natural emotional and mental sets and exploits them. He studies the laws of logic that he may be able to disobey them and win others to a specialized point of view by false logic, the fallacies of which they are unable to recognize.

What we term the technique of suggestion is really the skillful use of a special group of propaganda devices. Suggestion is defined as: "Any process whereby propositions are received and adopted as part of one's mental content and

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produce responses without the functioning the rational faculty. It is characterized by a readiness to accept prima facie proposals coming from certain sources and to reject those coming from other sources regardless of their intrinsic value."¹ It may be either positive or negative. There are certain essential elements, or what we have called a group of techniques, which when used in conjunction with each other result in suggestion. These techniques are: 1. attractive presentation; 2. strong affirmation; 3. constant repetition; and 4. cultivated expectancy. In the use of suggestion there is no attempt to appeal to man as a rational being; but just a pleasant statement and restatement in as many different ways as possible certain facts and ideas until they have become so familiar that they are widely accepted without question. It seems as though they had always been true. Prior to the repeal of the 18th Amendment, the "Wets" conducted an extensive campaign of suggestion. Their attractive presentation of the return of prosperity and liberty with the return of liquor was strongly affirmed and constantly repeated. Prohibition was a failure and there was more drinking than ever before, they asserted, but made no efforts to prove their contentions. They were certain of victory, for did we not all want to be on the band wagon when the drink would run freely, just as in the good old days?

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1. Dr. Charles R. Zahnizer: Class in Case Work, 1933-34, author's notes.

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All advertising and propaganda make use of some

of the elements of suggestion, but suggestion is most effective when it is used over a long period of time and covers a broad field. The propaganda of the U.S. Army is a good example. The sex aspects have been noted above; that aspect is only one portion of a whole military philosophy--toward military training, toward war, toward the army, national defense, preparedness, civilization, and human nature. This philosophy is systematically presented not only ⁱⁿ the high schools and colleges, but in all its propaganda and by all its propagandists, whether it be through the press, or through its official organs, or through the activity of organizations which have become imbued with its spirit, or through kindly old General So-and-Which who gives periodic talks to groups of young people or the Lion Tamers' Club. This philosophy, based on the premise that "man is a fighting animal" and "you can't change human nature", can best be seen in some of the statements of military men themselves. For example:

"Bayonet fighting is possible only because red-blooded men naturally possess the fighting instinct. This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged..."¹

"Our great country was conceived in war, nurtured in war, and preserved by war."²

"A warlike spirit, which alone can create and civilize a state, is absolutely essential to national defense and to national perpetuity...the more warlike the spirit of the people, the less the need for a large standing army, as in such a community every able-bodied man should be willing to fight on all occasions whenever the nation demands his services in the field."³

1. So This Is War!, supra, p.26.

2. Ibid, p.30.

3. Ibid, p.35.

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"GEN. ELY SAYS WAR CANNOT BE BANNED.....'That they (the peace pacts) will cause war to cease is beyond the brain power of human beings....We don't prepare for war but against it. As long as we have reasonable national defense, an adequate army, a good navy, and a sufficient air force, so long will we be able to prevent war, and no longer.'"1

Thus, through attractive presentation--girl sponsors for the R.O.T.C., parades, uniforms, polo ponies, trips to foreign lands, honor, reverence, appeals to high and pleasant feelings, and all the other glorifications of war and its personnel,--through strong affirmation and constant repetition of the existence of the fighting instinct and the necessity for defense and preparedness,--through the cultivated expectancy of war, the War Department creates its suggestion. And this is not done hit or miss, or unconsciously. The Department is as fully aware of its task and the means to accomplish it as was Hitler in his task of destroying German civilization.² But the words of one of the military, Capt. J. H. Burns in the trade paper of the infantry, suffice:

"It is useless to try and convince men of the value of military standards by reasoning with them, for reasoning, no matter how brilliant or conclusive, always leaves a suspicion of doubt and uncertainty in the mind of the average man. It is necessary that he be firmly convinced, and the best way of doing this, in fact the only way, is to indoctrinate him. Constant repetition of the item to be inculcated, unsupported by any reasons, will have an immense effect on the suggestible, herd-minded human. An opinion, an idea, or a code acquired in this manner can become so firmly fixed that one who questions its essential rightness will be regarded as foolish, wicked, or insane. Suggestion, then, is the key to inculcating discipline, esprit, and morale. This may throw some light on why such qualities can not be formally taught, but seem rather to be by-products of military experience and formal instruction."³

1. So This Is War!, supra, p.37.

2. Hitler: Mein Kampf, German ed., p. 204 et seq.

3. So This Is War!, supra, p.32

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Little more need be said about suggestion as a technique of propaganda. A good example of the use of negative suggestion may been seen in the campaign that is vigourously being pushed all over the country, chiefly by patriotic groups and the Hearst press, against the Soviet Union and Communism. In all probability, suggestion is the most widely used of all propaganda techniques. Because of its subtlety very few people know of its existence or realize that they are subject to it. And few understand its implications as well as the Military.

Implication, Insinuation, and Innuendo

Other techniques of propaganda of a more subtle sort are implication, insinuation and innuendo. Examples of this "black" art of suggesting things without definitely saying them are not hard to find, for all propaganda is full of them. So, Cardinal O'Connell in speaking of Fr. Coughlin, without mentioning any names or saying anything specific that could be held against him, gets his idea accross very nicely when he says: "Some people prefer to talk rhetoric instead of facts but we are careful about that."¹ Babson's Reports in a bulletin says, "Consolidated Gas is suffering from politics. It was though that after Tammany was thrown out, the company could do business on a straight forward basis--but is the new reform mayor even worse than Tammany? We suppose that unless he is a politician a man could not be elected Mayor of New York City. The United States Constitution still operates, however, and the public is in no mood to repeal

1. Boston Herald, April, 18, 1932.

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that section which forbids the taking of private property without recompense."¹ The illustration speaks for itself.

And editorial in the "Boston American" (February 14, 1935) asserts, as a part of its campaign for the Teachers' Oath Bill, "Communists are cowards". It then points out that at the hearings on the Bill two days previously, no Communist came forward in opposition. In conclusion the editorial declares that the "state's educational leader" is for the Bill, and puts the question to the reader, "Who is against it?" The answer is obvious by implication rather than by statement. At the continuation of the hearing on the Bill sometime later, insinuation and innuendo played a leading part in the speeches of both the ~~pro~~proponents and the opponents. To quote from various proponents. "Who are these professors, who have sat here grinning when proponents of the Bill have spoken and urged its passage? I want to know who they are, and on learning I shall be prepared to place a bombshell underneath them that will rout them from our schools and colleges", shouted one matron. The man who opened the argument for the Bill declared, "We have put up with entirely too much of these parlor pinks, these long-haired men and short-haired women who have communistic and socialistic tendencies....Anyone who can understand how anyone could be opposed to these bills is, to my mind, tinged with suspicion."² The "Boston Traveler" on the following day editorialized: "In peril is any republic

1. Babson's Reports--Bulletin F-565

2. Boston Traveler--April 2, 1935

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1. Boston's Herald-Examiner B-566
 2. Boston Traveler—April 2, 1935

in which the people do not dare to stand up and oppose useless flag-waving, and this proposed law is useless flag-waving". One of the opponents at the continued hearing on April ninth said, "Any scoundrel will take any oath. Hysteria and fear are the bases upon which these proposals are founded. They are based on ignorance and no intelligent person would support them." Another opponent said, referring obviously to Huey Long, "that in the United States Senate was a man who had taken the oath of allegiance when he was sworn into office, yet publically announced his state would secede from the Union".¹.

Hundreds of examples of this type of propaganda could be given from the records of the Gill campaign, for the famous charges of Mr. Hurley and Mr. Dillon were primarily made up of innuendo, with very little basis of fact, or even what purported to be fact. And the newspapers which were unfavorable to Mr. Gill made their chief bid for public support on the basis of insinuation and suspicion and suggestive inferences. This one example, from ex-Governor Ely's letter to Mr. Dillon announcing his decision to discharge Mr. Gill, speaks for itself.

"Mr. Gill is a man without previous prison experience or real contact with the criminal element of the population. His own method of living, the expression of his ideas and ideals stamp him as an extreme liberal in social relations. It was apparently the common belief of the institution and its inmates, for which belief there is well founded evidence, that for a considerable period of time one of the chief officers was addicted to homo-sexual relations. Mr.

1. Boston Traveler. April 9, 1934.

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The "Boston Traveler", one of the worst offenders as far as this type of propaganda in the Gill campaign goes, a year after the fight, on the occasion of Mr. Parkhurst's report to Governor Curley on prison conditions in Massachusetts, still indulged editorially in innuendo of the same sort, a few examples of which are quoted:

"As to Norfolk prison colony. The Boston Traveler has believed and still believes that Norfolk is none too good for some prisoners.....

"In reading Mr. Parkhurst's report, Gov. Curley should bear in mind that Mr. Parkhurst was one of the most ardent defenders of the reign of Howard Gill as superintendant of Norfolk. Mr. Parkhurst defended methods for which Gill was criticised and which finally lead to the departure of Gill.

"Mr. Parkhurst's sincerity and integrity no man doubts, but his judgment on penal matters is open to challenge....

"He fails to state that relatively decent prisoners at Norfolk complained because of lack of protection against other prisoners in this ideal community." 2.

Abuses of the Laws of Reasoning - Fabrication

We come, finally, to the techniques of propaganda which we will call the abuses of the laws of reasoning. It was these techniques that Lumley had in mind principally in his book, "The Propaganda Manace". Propaganda, for him, as has been indicated before, was characterized chiefly by the

1. Boston Herald. April 6, 1934.

2. Boston Traveler. February 25, 1935.

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fact that it was veiled in some way, either in its origin, the interests involved, the methods used, the contents spread, or the results accruing. And under the term veiled he included outright lies or fabrication. The propagandist is chiefly concerned with getting across his ideas, and if the telling of untruth is the only way he can do this, the only way in which he can present his opinions in a favorable light, he does not hesitate to use lying as a technique. The War propaganda is largely composed of lies. The Power Trust has told many lies in its extensive propaganda against public ownership. Mr. Hurley did not hesitate to tell lies in his accusations against Mr. Gill.

Veiling

Veiling, as we have indicated, is a characteristic of some propaganda. This technique is sometimes known as the "innocence technique". During the Gill campaign it was sometimes necessary to hide the sources of some of the statements made to secure the best effect. A statement admittedly made by the public relations council would be immediately stamped as propaganda and therefore discredited, whereas if the same statement issued from the office or mouth of an apparently impartial person or organization it carried more weight. Many were the speeches, letters, telegrams, remarks issuing from people of all sorts and from all parts of the state written in whole or in part, or at least inspired by the

fact that it was veiled in some way, either in its origin, the interests involved, the methods used, the contents spread, or the results accruing. And under the term veiled he included outright lies or fabrication. The propagandist is chiefly concerned with getting across his ideas, and if the telling of untruth is the only way he can do this, the only way in which he can present his opinions in a favorable light, he does not hesitate to use lying as a technique. The War propaganda is largely composed of lies. The Power Trust has told many lies in its extensive propaganda against public ownership. Mr. Huxley did not hesitate to tell lies in his accusations against Mr. Will.

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public relations council.

In order to gain credence and authority and to avoid opposition the true interests supporting a cause are often hidden. The classic example of this sort of propaganda is the work of William B. Shearer at the Naval Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1927 in the interests of three of America's largest ship-building concerns. Many organizations, who would lose all their effect as propaganda dispensers if their true interests were shown, hide under the name or guise of some other organization, or deliberately take a false name. They seek to give the impression that they speak for the mass of the people. Several of these organizations have been investigated at one time or another. There was, for instance, the case of the National Disabled Soldiers League, a bogus society representing not a group, but the greed of its organizers, and dealing in bluff and criminal fraud. It had a Washington office, a group of officers, a list of prominent sponsors, a national convention of members; but the convention was staged, the delegates hired, and the sponsors names used without their consent. Another such organization was the Farmers' States Rights League, which claimed to be a national organization representing the opinions of farmers of the South toward the Child Labor Amendment. It really was an association of cotton mill operators of the Carolinas whose purpose was to maintain labor conditions at the status quo. There was hardly a farmer in the

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outfit, but it was disguised as farmers protecting the spread of federal powers over states rights. The Communist Party uses the "innocence technique" as one of its most effective tactics. It hides much of its activities under the guise of various other organizations which it really dominates. Its propagandists often deny their affiliations and pretend to be only sympathisers or interested parties. These pretensions have some basis in fact, since Communists are sincerely interested in all organizations with a leftish slant. Not only do the growth of "innocents organizations", as they are known in the parlance, serve to canalize amorphous liberal sentiment, but they also multiply the organizational base many times for the Communist Party.

Likewise it is often desirable for the best effects of a particular propaganda to be realized for its methods to be hidden. It is easier to convince a person if the processes of conviction are not apparent. The chief effect of suggestion comes through the fact that those who are being influenced are not conscious of it. An obvious example of this technique may be seen in the use of so-called "boiler-plate" by many rural papers. The "boiler-plate" is often supplied by some public utility, but appears in the newspaper as news along with other items. The contents of the "plate", needless to say, do not contain news stories detrimental to the interests of public utilities.

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of befogging the minds of the people in order that they may make their own ideas stand out against a confused background and therefore gain more adherents by the presentation of an apparently clear program. They use all sorts of concealing phrases that blur the issue, and words that mean all things to all men, such as "correct principles ought to be observed", or "a high official authority stated", or "one in position to know has said".

Lumley's Four Categories

Lumley has listed what he calls the four major abuses in the laws of reasoning which are made use of in propaganda. The first of these is suppression. The propagandist gives out only the facts that will insure the responses he desires. Examples of this technique may be seen in the failure of food and drug manufacturers to state the composition of their goods, or in the refusal of the newspapers to print labor news. The second abuse that Lumley discusses is distortion. By this he means twisting and rearranging of material deliberately and for a purpose by adding words or phrases or by deleting them in quotations or reports. Under this heading he also includes exaggeration and minimization. An example of exaggeration would be in the reporting of the amount of violence in a strike by newspapers unfavorable to labor. Ex-President Hoover, all through the political campaign leading to his defeat in 1932, minimized the amount

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of unemployment in the country by giving out low figures. This control of emphasis is known as the logical fallacy of accent, and is used extensively in all sorts of propaganda.¹ All special pleading, which propaganda is by definition, comes under this heading, but some propaganda makes its principle appeal through an overemphasis of this innate fallacy. The third fallacy is diversion, a turning from the matter at hand to some other to hide the first. In the building up of a public personality, emphasis is laid on his altruism, the money he has given to charity and the arts, in order to hide his possible bad business dealings or his shady political past. Company news papers are full of jokes, slang, and human interest stories in order to divert the workers' attention from serious criticism of the company. The technical name for this fallacy is irrelevant conclusion, examples of which are many and varied. The diversion may be through an appeal to the character, principles, or past of a person connected with the matter at hand, (argumentum ad hominum), to the passions of the audience (argumentum ad populum), to some special feeling such as pity or sympathy (argumentum ad misericordiam), to the idea that it is impossible to prove the opposite (argumentum ad verecundiam), or to force (argumentum ad baculum). Adequate examples of this type of fallacy have already been given. The fourth fallacy that Lumley discusses is fabrication, which we have already treated.

1. For use of logical terms see; Creighton: An Introductory Logic.

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Question Begging and Other Logical Fallacies

Question begging, or the fallacy of *petitio principii*, is probably the most common fallacy of propagandists. The facts to be proved are assumed at the beginning more often than not. All of the technique of suggestion and all use of epithets, as they have been previously discussed, come under the category of *petitio principii*. The interrogative form of this fallacy may be seen in such a question as the one posed by the Communists in their campaign against Hearst: "Why does Hearst lie?". Another technique that involves a logical fallacy is the use of ambiguous or shifting terms. In one of Babson's Reports is the following statement, which illustrates the use of the word law in an ambiguous way: "There are three laws that even Congress and the Supreme Court can not change. These are (1) the law of supply and demand, (2) the law of the survival of the fittest, and (3) the law of action and reaction." ¹. A common fallacy, and one upon which are based such items of propaganda as the D.A.R. Blacklist and other similar listings of "reds", may be seen in the obviously false line of reasoning pursued in the following bit of sophistry: Communists are against war; Mrs. Roovevelt is against war; therefore Mrs. Roosevelt is a Communist.

Conclusion to Part III and Introduction to Part IV

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1. Babson's Reports: "Special Letter".

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from as many different aspects of the American scene as possible of instances of propaganda with which I am familiar and in the formation of some of which I have had a part, how propaganda functions in the United States today. I have looked at this subject from the point of view of the propagandist; that is I have tried to discover just what his stock in trade consists of, what are the methods and techniques, either original with him or borrowed from other sources, which he is able to put to effective use in his work. Now I wish briefly to reverse the process and to look at the subject from the point of view of the material upon which the propagandist works, that is the American scene and the American man. What is there about modern man and modern life that ^{makes} ~~makes~~ the techniques of propaganda effective?

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In the Chapter of Biology - Its Complexity

Modern life is very complex. The contact of the individual with his environment is no longer the individual and his primary contacts with a simple environment, but is rather the social group and the secondary contacts with the organic environment of our specialized and complex world. The radius of man's world has expanded to such an extent that he is now in contact with the whole world up until the last century and a half was very small indeed.

Part IV. The Effective Basis for Propaganda Techniques

With very few exceptions, man's whole life has been within a few miles. His mother and his father were born and grew up within his sight and often by his own hand. In ancient times contact with government was primary through the town meeting and the council of his village or through the local legislative bodies. A little contact was made with the outside world through the trader who brought in the goods of the foreign lands, the traveler, the merchant, a few foreign goods, and some literature; but generally speaking man knew his world through a first hand experience of it. Propaganda, as we have defined it, could play only a very small part in the life of man then.

Secondary Contacts

How different is the picture today! Practically our whole life is made up of secondary contacts. The radius of man's existence extends to the whole world. Without the complex structural organization of modern society man could not live. With only a very small part of his environment can he have first hand acquaintance. His knowledge of the rest of

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the world he must get vicariously, through formal education, literature, and other means of communication. The extent of the world and of recorded knowledge is so great that no man even begin to know a tiny part of it. Organization and specialization are the order of the day. What each man knows is infinitesimal when compared with what he does not know. The field in which propaganda, as a method of presenting special information, may work, then is limitless.

The Inaccessibility of Truth

Absolute truth is a theory and not a fact, and even those parts of relative truth which do exist are difficult to discover. The truth of the past may be partially comprehended through study and analysis of records and studies of history, but the facts of the present day, upon which man must build most of his actions and opinions, are difficult to secure. Formal education is brief and deals mostly with the facts of the past. It gives little assistance in analysing the present and practically no training in the technique of investigation and criticism. Adult education is still in a very undeveloped state and available for few people. The sources of relatively unbiased truth are not many and are difficult to discover and present their material in a form incomprehensible to the majority of the people. Practically the only literature read by most persons today is the newspaper, some parts of which are relatively unbiased, but large parts of which would come under the heading of propaganda. The

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The Speed-Up of Modern Life

Even were facts more available today, modern life makes their discovery by most people unlikely. Man spends most of his time working, eating, and sleeping. In the remainder he goes to the golf club, the lodge, the bridge club, the movies, or listens to the radio. He has little or no time to devote to a study of the facts of any of the subjects that deal with the vital issues of life and that are most subject to propagandising. He is forced to turn for his ideas and opinions to forms of special information that are presented to him by interested persons or groups. Life, especially in urban centers, is so rushed that man has no time to think or study or form judgments on a basis of fact. The noise and fatigue and automatism of modern industrial life leads to a flattening out of the discriminatory powers and to an inner psycho-

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logical disorder that makes impartial judgments impossible.

This rush of present life has, incidentally, affected the organs of propaganda. People today are unable or unwilling to go to political rallies and other meetings just for entertainment as they did a few decades ago. Propaganda has to be presented in the most attractive and easily digestible form or people will not look, listen, or read. Photographs today have the same authority over the imagination today that the printed word did yesterday or the spoken word before that. The radio and the moving pictures have become the most effective organs of propaganda today. It has been the development of these organs that has made propaganda in its large form possible at all. Universal literacy, the development of means of communication such as the radio and the moving pictures, and the complete mechanization of the newspaper have furnished the means through which propaganda has been able to be effective on a large scale.

Social Groupings

The social groupings or cleavages in society serve as one method of bringing some order out of the chaotic complexity of life. A man may organize his ideas and opinions around one or more groups that serve as channels for information. There are thousands of such organizations which sift ideas and stereotype opinions. The cleavages cut across one another and the groups interlace and intertwine in an invisible way.

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These various groups have their leaders, who because of superior knowledge or particular interest direct the policies of the organization or set the turn of the ideas and opinions disseminated. The majority of the members of the organizations merely follow the leader in whatever path he indicates. Many of the groupings in society are unconscious as far as the majority of the members of the group are concerned, but they are none the less effective. Class groupings, for instance, are often unconscious. A man may be a member of the proletariat or working class group without realizing it, and yet, whether he knows it or not, he acts as do the other members of the group and his opinions are those of the group. The propagandist is able to use these conscious and unconscious groupings of people and the resulting stereotyping of ideas and opinions. If the cooperation of key people in organizations and groups can be secured the support of hundreds and thousands of members of the groups automatically results.

The Democratization of Society

In a society where most of the people know little about anything and have no opinion or a lightly held one on most subjects, the person who has the information or strongly held opinions becomes a leader. He is able to sway the amorphous mass to his point of view. Thus the vocal minority may rule the inarticulate majority. The ideas and opinions which are made most attractive to the masses of the people will be adopted. Our democratic system is particularly subject to

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propagandizing. When the system began government was really representative. The contact of the people with the personnel of government was primary. They knew the candidates for public office and elected people with whose ideas they agreed. The government was representative of those who voted. The majority ruled through genuine representation. Today our contact with government and those who govern is almost entirely of a secondary nature. All that we can know about candidates for public office is what they and their public relation men say for them and what their opponents say against them. Increased centralization of government has increased the distance between the government and the people. The increased complexity of government has made it incomprehensible to most of the people. They have not the time to devote to a study of governmental questions even if they could understand them. On most subjects of such a nature they have neither knowledge nor opinions. To talk about "discovering public opinion" is foolishness, for none exists of itself. For public opinion to exist it must be manufactured, and propaganda is the technique by which it is brought about. A government can rule, finally only through the consent of the governed. In a monarchy or a dictatorship force may help bring consent, but in a democracy propaganda is all the force that is necessary. Consent is manufactured both before and after election by the informed and interested minority who make their ideas and opinions most vocal and attractive to the majority.

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The complexity of governmental processes makes it impossible even for governmental officials to know enough about all aspects of the subject not to resort to special information. They could not possibly be self-informed concerning all public questions, when in almost every legislative body there are several hundred or several thousand legislative proposals every session. Hearings must be held at which persons and organizations with special points of view may have an opportunity to present them. This presentation is in the form of propaganda. Because of the ignorance of legislators and on account of their separation from the people, lobbying organizations are able to exist in great numbers and have the influence that they do; and barrages of letters, post cards, and telegrams to legislators have a real effect on their action. Such was the case with the World Court vote in the 1935 Session of the United States Senate.

9m

The Nature of Man - The Primacy of the Emotions

The basis of most propaganda is an emotional appeal. This appeal is effective because of the innate emotionality of man. The motive for the largest part of man's actions is not reason, but emotion. Emotion is the primary dynamic of behavior. There is a tendency to exaggerate the intellectuality of mankind. Human action does not result from an intellectual process by which man first thinks of an end which he desires and then calculates the means by which that end can

The complexity of governmental processes makes it impossible even for government officials to know enough about all aspects of the subject not to resort to special information. They could not possibly be self-informed concerning all public questions, when in almost every legislative body there are several hundred or several thousand legislative proposals every session. Hearings must be held at which persons and organizations with special points of view may have an opportunity to present their views. This presentation is in the form of propaganda. Because of the ignorance of legislators and on account of their separation from the people, lobbying organizations are able to exist in great numbers and have the influence that they do; and members of Congress, post cards, and telegrams to legislators have a real effect on their action. Such was the case with the World Court vote in the 1935 Session of the United States Senate.

The Nature of Man - The primary of the emotions. The basis of most propaganda is an emotional appeal. This appeal is effective because of the innate emotionality of man. The motive for the largest part of man's action is not reason, but emotion. Emotion is the primary dynamic of behavior. There is a tendency to exaggerate the rationality of mankind. Human action does not result from an intellectual process by which man first thinks of an end which he desires and then calculates the means by which that end can

be attained, but results rather from tendencies, emotions, impulses that are prior to, though modified by, the thought and experience of human beings. Reason may determine what direction action may take, but it is emotion that causes action to be taken. It is the earlier, more automatic reaction that has the greater, the later more intellectual one that has the lesser propulsive power. Reason comes in afterwards in the form of a rationalization. It is hard to resist the habit of giving intellectual explanations of emotional experiences. In other words as a general rule, as some one has said, "Man does not think; he merely thinks he thinks".

The Levels of Human Behavior

The levels of human behavior may be listed in the order of increasing rationality and decreasing propulsive power as follows: (1) tropisms and reflexes, (2) instinctive reactions, (3) acquired habits, (4) emotional attitudes - enduring constellations and sentiments, (5) intelligence - objective, analytic and problem solving, (6) reason - abstract thought.¹ By far the greatest part of man's life is lived on the first three or four of these behavior levels. If a man were followed through the ordinary course of a day and his actions and words were photographed and recorded, he would be astonished to find how few of them were the result of present or past rational processes; probably much less than ten per cent. If a man thought about every action he was to

1. Zahnizer, Charles R.: Class in Social Control, 1934, author's notes.

be attained, but results rather from tendencies, emotions, impulses that are prior to, though modified by, the conscious and experience of human beings. Reason may determine what direction action may take, but it is emotion that causes action to be taken. It is the earlier, more extensive reaction that has the greater, the later and intellectual, that has the lesser propulsive power. Reason comes in later - enters in the form of a rationalization. It is hard to say after the habit of giving intellectual explanations of decisions of experiments. In other words as a general rule, as soon as we say, "Man does not think; he merely thinks he thinks."

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The levels of human behavior may be listed in the order of increasing rationality and decreasing impulsive power as follows: (1) problems and reflexes, (2) instinctive reactions, (3) emotional habits, (4) emotional attitudes - enduring convictions and sentiments, (5) intelligence - objective, analytic and problem solving, (6) reason - conscious thought. By far the greatest part of man's life is lived on the first three or four of these behavior levels. It was followed through the ordinary course of a day and his actions and words were photographed and recorded, as would be expected to find how few of them were the result of conscious or pure rational processes; probably with some ten per cent. If a man thought about every action he was to

make, he would be unable to get along in the world today. It is on the basis, then, of these lower behavior levels that the appeal of most propaganda is made, as ~~has~~^{has} been indicated in the previous section of this discussion. Suggestion moves in the well-worn channels of reflex, instinct, and habit. Nine tenths of what we do is done in direct response to suggestion. The lives of persons with subnormal mental powers, of which there is a large percentage in any society, are entirely determined by suggestion. Man is so often a lazy creature; he goes the way of least resistance; it is easier and much more pleasant to react than to think. Thinking is difficult and painful, so he drifts along the path of folk-way, customs, traditional beliefs and faiths, conventions, codes, emotional habits and attitudes, national and religious and racial sentiment, and propaganda.

Man's Credulity

Man through nature and nurture is credulous, gullible, willing to believe almost anything. As the Mighty Barnum so well realized, "man likes to be fooled". His analytic and critical powers have to be carefully trained and nurtured, and then work only rarely and with difficulty. What seems to be is much more important than what is. This characteristic of man is no new thing. Machiavelli, who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but was the forefather of all practical politicians, realized the importance of appearance as against being. He says in the eighteenth chapter of

made, he would be unable to get along in the world today. It is on the basis, then, of these lower behavior levels that the appeal of most propaganda is made, as has been indicated in the previous section of this discussion. Propaganda moves in the well-worn channels of reflex, instinct, and habit. One reason of what we do is done in direct response to suggestion. The lives of persons with abnormal mental powers, of which there is a large percentage in any country, are entirely determined by suggestion. Man is not often a free creature; he goes the way of least resistance; it is easier and much more pleasant to react than to think. Thinking is difficult and painful, as he finds along the path of logic, custom, traditional beliefs and fictions, conventions, codes, emotional habits and reactions, national and religious and racial sentiment, and propaganda.

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Man through nature and nurture is creative, capable, willing to believe almost anything. As the ability begins to well realized, "man finds to be lost." His analysis and critical powers have to be carefully trained and nurtured, and then work only rarely and with difficulty. What seems to be so much more important than what is, this characteristic of man is no new thing. Machiavelli, who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but was the forerunner of all practical politicians, realized the importance of suggestion as a means of power. He says in the sixteenth chapter of

"The Prince":

"A prince, therefore, is not obliged to have all the fore-mentioned good qualities in reality, but it is necessary he have them in appearance; nay, I will be bold to affirm that, having them in actuality, and employing them on all occasions, they are extremely prejudicial, whereas, having them only in appearance, they turn to better account; it is honorable to seem mild, and merciful, and courteous, and religious, and sincere, and indeed to be so, provided your mind be so rectified and prepared that you can act quite contrary upon occasion.... A prince, then, is to have particular care that nothing falls from his mouth but what is full of the five qualities aforesaid, and that to see and hear him he appears all goodness, integrity, humanity, and religion, which last he ought to prevent to more than ordinarily because more men do judge by the eye than by the touch; for everybody sees, but few understand; everybody sees what you appear, but few know in reality what you are, and those few dare not oppose the opinion of the multitude, who have the majesty of the prince to defend them; and in the actions of all men, especially princes, where no man has power to judge every man looks to the end. Let a prince, therefore, do what he can to preserve his life, and continue his supremacy, the means which he uses shall be thought honorable, and be commended by everybody; because the people are always taken by the appearance and event of things, and the greatest part of the world consists of the people; those few who are wise taking place when the multitude has nothing else to rely upon. There is a prince at this time in being (but his name I shall conceal) who has nothing in his mouth but fidelity and peace; and yet had he exercised either one or the other, they had robbed him before this both of his power and reputation".¹

Man's Mental Limitations

Even when man makes use of his best mental powers he is unable to grasp the whole immensity and complexity of the modern world. He can understand only a small portion of it and get a very vague idea of the remainder of it in vicarious ways. His senses are not very reliable. Human testimony is inherently unreliable and fallible. It has been proved many times that no two persons can relate the occurrence of a sim-

1. Machiavelli: The Prince, Chapter 18, Coker F.W.: Readings in Political Philosophy, pp. 179-180.

"A prince, therefore, is not obliged to have all the fore-mentioned good qualities in reality, but it is necessary he have them in appearance; nay, I will be bold to affirm that, having them in actuality, and employing them on all occasions, they are extremely prejudicial, whereas, having them only in appearance, they turn to better account; it is honorable to seem mild, and merciful, and courteous, and religious, and sincere, and indeed to be so, provided your mind be so rectified and prepared that you can see quite contrary upon occasion.... A prince, then, is to have particular care that nothing falls from his mouth but what is full of the five qualities aforesaid, and that to see and hear him he appears all goodness, integrity, humanity, and religion, which last he ought to pretend to more than ordinarily because more men do judge by the eye than by the touch; for everybody sees, but few understand; everybody sees what you appear, but few know in reality what you are, and those few dare not oppose the opinion of the multitude, who have the majesty of the prince to defend them; and in the actions of all men, especially princes, where no man has power to judge every man looks to the end. Let a prince, therefore, do what he can to preserve his life, and consolidate his supremacy, the means which he uses shall be thought honorable, and be commended by everybody; because the people are always taken by the appearance and event of things; and the greatest part of the world consists of the people; those few who are taking place when the multitude has nothing else to rely upon. There is a prince at this time in being (but his name I shall conceal) who has nothing in his mouth but fidelity and piety; and yet had he exercised either one or the other, they had robbed him before this both of his power and reputation."

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ple street accident and make the two stories coincide. And when bias and emotion are introduced the testimony loses more of its value. There are inherent difficulties in language that make it difficult to express adequately the complexity of of experience, and impossible to indicate shades of distinction. Man's power of memory is balanced by his ability to forget. There is much room for propaganda to step in and fill in the gaps and contradict the inaccuracies arising from man's faulty perception and understanding.

The Laws of Logic

In the working out of the laws of learning and logic there are many opportunities for propaganda to enter. Man is to a large extent visual-minded, and pictures, whether they be photographs, cartoons, or symbolic representations, are the most elementary and easily digested food for thought. We have indicated the extent to which propaganda is pictorial in character. Much of learning comes through association. To understand new material we must compare it and relate it to material that is already a part of our mental content. We analyse it and classify it. The propagandist often provides ready-made associations. He connects up a new idea or product with old ideas and mental patterns using a very weak method of connection. Memory soon fades and we forget the connection and remember only the association. So also the propagandist makes convenient classifications which appear

the correct position and make the two stories coincide. And when bias and emotion are introduced the testimony loses some of its value. There are inherent difficulties in human testimony that make it difficult to express adequately the complexity of experience, and impossible to include shades of distinction. Man's power of memory is weakened by his ability to forget. There is much room for propaganda in what is said and recorded. The inaccuracies arising from man's faulty perception and understanding.

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at first glance to be reasonable thus preventing by their logical appearance the analysis that would prove them false. In the process of understanding and classification of a broad field we must pick samples and treat them as typical. It is not easy to get a good sample. The casual mind is apt to stumble upon samples which support its prejudices, and to neglect those which disagree with them. The propagandist presents ready samples which the unwary mind grasps as valid bases for generalizations. The untrained mind often works out the theory that two things which catch the mind at the same time are causally connected. Sequence or parallelism are readily accepted as equivalent to cause and effect. The propagandist captures this natural confusion of the mind and turns it to his own interests. Likewise other laws of logic easily become subject to the irrational misconstructions which are so often incorporated in propaganda.

Mass Psychology

Man is more than an individual living in a complex world, affecting his world and being affected by it; he is a member of a social group, of many groups, as we have indicated. He is a social being subject to inter-social stimulation. His individuality becomes merged in a larger interest. He acts differently, thinks differently when he is a member of a crowd than he does when he is alone, through a process which might best be described as inter-social suggestion. The

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demagogue takes advantage of this mental and emotional interaction and is able to whip up mass emotion to a frenzy through a careful choice of words and symbols that are rich in social content. Strong feelings are contagious in a crowd, and can be built up to such a high point by the propagandist that at the proper moment they may be precipitated into action. Mass sentiment that is thus aroused is not, as many social psychologists believe, necessarily of an evil sort. It may be good or bad depending on whether the emotion aroused is noble or ignoble or the end toward which it is directed is good or bad.

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Conclusion

In my whole discussion of propaganda I have tried to be as scientific and objective as possible. I have tried to present propaganda as a social phenomenon of an immoral character, a technique of social control available to all those who would have a part in the social game. I believe

Part V. Conclusion

we can not wish propaganda out of existence; it is a definite and distinctive part of modern life and its use will become more widespread as the years go on. In the age of social conflict, of the clash of social philosophies and social classes, of the development of social consciousness and social conscience, propaganda is a technique of affecting men's actions taken its place beside other techniques of social control. Only when the conflicts are composed and the final synthesis has come, when the need for social control is gone, only in a society of perfect anarchy, will propaganda cease to exist.

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Summary

Part I. Historical Introduction

Although propaganda was not in the past the term of common parlance that it is today, it did, nevertheless, exist. In the age of primitive man, the cave-dweller, the Egyptian and the Assyrian, the documents of the Roman Church during the Middle Ages, and the pamphlets issued from the struggles for power in Europe and America from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, we can trace the beginnings of many of the elements that characterize propaganda today. Propaganda in America reached the height of its effectiveness prior to the World War in the campaign of the Anti-Slavery League and its associates.

It is in the World War that modern propaganda really had its roots. A vital part of the war campaign for all countries both at the front and at home rested with those who formulated and disseminated the propaganda, which was spread wholesale. After the war was over people realized that the techniques of propaganda so highly developed and so effectively used during the war could be easily adapted to all sorts of propaganda activities. The development of social movements and political parties for election purposes even without the aid of modern legislative bodies and their decisions even without propaganda was leading to a new era of propaganda for our modern age.

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Part II. Definitions of Propaganda

Propaganda has been defined by many authorities in many different ways. Lumley and others have considered propaganda evil from the start and their definitions have been colored by their moral judgments. Others have defined propaganda in the terms of some one particular technique. But we believe that it is necessary to consider propaganda in a broad scientific sense as a method of social control, as a social technique of presenting special information and opinion to a large group of people with the intention of influencing the opinions and actions of the group. Careful distinctions must be made between propaganda and other similar social phenomena, although often the lines of demarcation are imperceptible in practice. Education may be distinguished from propaganda by the fact that it aims at a disinterested spreading of the truth as far as it is known. Publicity presents special facts or opinions but does not necessarily expect to influence the actions or opinions of those whom it addresses. Advertising intends specifically to sell a commodity or a service. These distinctions and this definition are not intended in any absolute sense but only as a guide to future thought and discussion.

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Part III. Techniques of Propaganda

The techniques of propaganda are many and varied, and it is often difficult to separate one from the other, for the effectiveness of one depends to a large extent upon the coincidental use of another. It is necessary first, of course, to get the idea or opinion before the public. Publicity, therefore, is the first task of the propagandist, and he is able to use all the organs of propaganda that reach the individual through any of his senses - pamphlets, books, radio, speeches, posters, conversation, or song.

An essential part of all propaganda is repetition. The reiterated idea is the believed idea. Most all propaganda contains some appeal to a higher authority, for man follows the lead of those whom he thinks should know. The personal testimonial also has a sort of authority for the common man that is recognized and used by the propagandist.

"Seeing is believing" says the old proverb and the propagandist knows that it is true and introduces his ideas as visual stimuli, by means of moving pictures, pictures, photographs, graphs, charts, and statistics. He also makes use of the symbol and of symbolic words, which are a more subtle and more elementary type of picture. To bring about the desired effect the propagandist makes extensive use of slogans and labels, of catch-words and high sounding phrases.

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to bring them over to his point of view or to do as he wants them to do, the propagandist often appeals to their reason. More often he appeals to their emotions; he tries to arouse them to strong belief and effective action through an emotional appeal, whether it be to love and affection, religion and morality, fear and hate, religious or racial prejudice, the sex instinct, self ^{ag}grandizement, or any other feeling.

Sometimes it is the aesthetic sense that is the basis of propaganda, or it may be man's delight in laughter and the ludicrous as characterized in the cartoon, or his interest in the unusual and the novel as seen in stunts.

A special technique of propaganda that is used particularly for political purposes is the technique of organization. The lobby, an example of organizational propaganda technique, is an established and essential part of our national life. The campaign for the retention of Howard B. Gill at Norfolk conducted last winter furnishes a good example of the technique of organization in actual practice.

More subtle and more difficult to understand and use is the technique of suggestion and the use of implication, insinuation, and innuendo in propaganda. And these subtler techniques are among the most effective. Propaganda often makes it a point to abuse the laws of reasoning and logic. Fabrication, suppression, distortion, diversion, veiling, and question begging are only a few of ^{the} logical fallacies present in a large percentage of propaganda.

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Part IV. The Effective Basis for Propaganda Techniques

We have studied the techniques that the propagandist uses in the last section, and now we look at the subject from a different point of view. Why is it that these techniques are effective? Why does propaganda work?

One reason for the effectiveness of propaganda techniques lies in the character of modern society. The world today is very complex, and the unit of society is no longer the individual but the social group. Man's life is made up primarily of secondary contacts. He can not possibly have first hand information about any more than a very small part of the world. Truth is almost impossible to discover. Between man and his complex unknown world steps the propagandist and his specially prepared material. Modern life moves so fast man has no time to understand it. In order to bring some order into the picture man forms social groups and it is through group channels that much propaganda runs. Our democratic government, although it was once representative is now run by a small but active minority, and the binding force of the process is propaganda.

The other reason for the effectiveness of propaganda techniques lies in the nature of man himself. Man is primarily an emotional creature and when an appeal is made to his emotional character he responds. It is easier for him to respond than it is for him to think. A large percentage

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of his life is lived necessarily on the lower behavior levels of tropisms and reflexes, instinctive reactions, acquired habits, and emotional attitudes. It is only rarely that he rises above these levels to analysis and productive thought. Man is naturally credulous. He is likely to believe anything he hears or reads without analyzing it or judging it. The critical faculties have to be nurtured and developed. When man thinks he is apt to think erroneously. The propagandist knows this fact and therefore twists the laws of logic and learning just enough so that man can not recognize the fallacies. These laws are very easily twisted. Man has mental limitations, then, that make him unable to comprehend the whole immensity of the modern world. He is a social being and acts in a social way; he is different in a crowd than he is as an individual. Mass psychology is effectively used by propagandists. The social interaction of mind on mind and emotion on emotion is not easily resisted and can be turned in channels both evil and productive.

Part V. Conclusion

As far as we see, propaganda will always be with us. It is a social phenomenon to be accepted and directed to productive use. Only with the coming of a perfect society in which social control is unnecessary will propaganda cease to exist.

of his life is lived necessarily on the lower behavior levels of programs and reflexes, instinctive reactions, acquired habits, and emotional attitudes. It is only rarely that he rises above these levels to analysis and productive thought. Man is naturally credulous. He is likely to believe anything he hears or reads without analyzing it or judging it. The critical faculties have to be nurtured and developed. When man thinks he is apt to think erroneously. The propagandist knows this fact and therefore twists the laws of logic and learning just enough so that man can not recognize the fallacies. These laws are very easily twisted. Man has mental limitations, then, that make him unable to comprehend the whole immensity of the modern world. He is a social being and acts in a social way; he is different in a crowd than he is as an individual. Mass psychology is effectively used by propagandists. The social interaction of mind on mind and emotion on emotion is not easily resisted and can be turned in channels both evil and productive.

Part V. Conclusion

As far as we see, propaganda will always be with us. It is a social phenomenon to be accepted and directed to productive use. Only with the coming of a perfect society in which social control is unnecessary will propaganda cease to exist.

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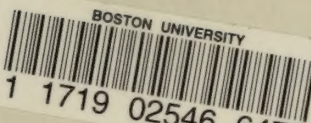
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